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CONTEXTS OF TEACHER ALIENATION. FINAL REPORT.
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A STUDY WAS MADE IN 18 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DELAWARE SCHOOLS TO INVESTIGATE THE SEPARATE AND INTERACTIVE EFFECTS OF ROLES, ORGANIZATIONS, AND PERSONALITIES ON THE ALIENATION OF TEACHERS. PERSONALITY WAS DESIGNATED AS ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE. ROLES WERE DESIGNATED AS AUTHORITARIAN-RITUALISTIC, INSTRUMENTAL, RITUALISTIC-GRATIFICATORY, AND GUIDANCE. ORGANIZATIONS WERE CLASSIFIED AS THREE R'S, OCCUPATIONAL, GROUP LOCOMOTION, AND INDIVIDUAL-DEVELOPMENT. ALL DATA WERE COLLECTED THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRES ADMINISTERED TO ADMINISTRATORS, STAFF, AND STUDENTS. IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT NO SPECIFIC TYPE OF PERSONALITY, ROLE, OR ORGANIZATION WAS CONSISTENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ALIENATION. AN INSTRUMENTAL ROLE IS LIKELY TO INCREASE ALIENATION, AND AN INDIVIDUAL-DEVELOPMENT SCHOOL IS LIKELY TO DECREASE ALIENATION IN INTERACTION WITH OTHER FACETS. CERTAIN INTERACTION PATTERNS EMERGE AS MOST PREDICTIVE OF ALIENATION EFFECTS. AT TIMES, ONE TYPE OF ROLE CAN HAVE LITTLE ASSOCIATION WITH ALIENATION, BUT GIVEN AN INTERACTION WITH A CERTAIN TYPE OF SCHOOL, AN EFFECT BEGINS TO APPEAR. THE MAJOR FINDING OF THE STUDY IS THAT ROLES, PERSONALITIES, AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH LEAN TOWARD A STUDENT FOCUS ARE LESS ALIENATION-RELATED THAN SCHOOLS WHICH CONTAIN PERSONALITY, ROLE, AND ORGANIZATION DEMANDS FOR EMPHASIS ON CONTENT. (HW)

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CONTEXTS OF TEACHER ALIENATION

January 1968

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CONTEXTS OF TEACHER ALIENATION

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ABSTRACT

Research was conducted into 18 schools of varying characteristics in order to investigate the separate and interactive effects of roles, types of organizations and personalities on the alienation of teachers. Personality was designated as abstract and concrete, role was designated as Authoritarian-Ritualistic, Instrumental, Ritualistic-Gratificatory or Guidance. Organizations were classified as Three R's, Occupational, Group Locomotion and Individual-Development. One hypothesis of the study, that a congruence of types of personality, role and organization would be predictive of low alienation, and incongruence of high alienation was not proven. All the schools in the study were incongruent with respect to types of personality, role and organization, but most teachers were not alienated. The notion of congruence of type was modified to take the subtantive focus of teacher activity into account. Content vs Student focus was a useful reconceptualization. A Content focus school was consistently more alienative than a Student focus school.

It was discovered that no specific type of personality, role or organization was consistently associated with alienation. An Instrumental role is likely to increase alienation and an Individual Development school is likely to decrease alienation in interaction with other facets. Certain interaction patterns emerge as most predictive of alienation effects. At times one type of role can have little association with alienation but given an interaction with a certain type of school an effect begins to appear.

The major finding of the study is that roles, personalities, and organizations which lean towards a student focus appear to be less alienation related than schools which contain personality, role and organization demands for emphasis on content.

CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iii

ABSTRACT iiv

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES viii

FOREWORD 1

INTRODUCTION 1

Alienation 2
- Powerlessness 2
- Meaninglessness 2
- Normlessness 3
- Isolation 3
- Self-estrangement 3

Organization 5
- Three R's 5
- Occupational 6
- Group Locomotion 6
- Individual Development 6

Role 7
- Authoritarian-Ritualistic 7
- Instrumental 8
- Ritualistic-Gratificatory 8
- Guidance 9

Contents - continued

Page

Personality 10

- Unilateral Dependence 10
- Negative Dependence 10
- Conditional Dependence and Mutuality 10
- Interdependence 11

METHOD 13

Design 13

Population and Sample 13

Analysis 15

RESULTS 15

Facets of Demand and Alienation 15

Content - Student Focus as School Climate 22

Content - Student Focus and Congruence 24

Pupil Role 24

Alienation by Facet of Demand 33

- Roles 35
- Organization 40
- Personality 43
- Role, Organization and the Forms of Alienation 44
- Role, Demands and Alienation 51

Alienation and Interaction Between Facets of Demand 56

The Influence of Focus 61

DISCUSSION 63

Contents - continued

Page

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 67

Conclusions 67

Implications 69

Recommendations 71

SUMMARY 73

REFERENCES 77

APPENDICES

    Organization

    Pupil Role

    Teacher Role

    Alienation

    Personality

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table		Page
1.	Distribution of Teacher Characteristics	14
2.	Alienation for All Teachers	17
3.	Personality, Role and Organization Demand Type for All Schools	19
4.	Proportion of Teachers Alienated and Not Alienated	20
5.	Intercorrelations of Facets of Demand	23
6.	Focus and Alienation by School	27
7.	Alienation and Incongruence Between Teacher Should and Teacher Do as Facets of Role	34
8.	Correlations Between Facets of Demand and Alienation	39
9.	Percent Alienated Guidance-Oriented Teachers by School Type and Years at School	58
10.	Variation in Alienation by Interaction of Demand	65
11.	Teacher Characteristics and Alienation	66

Figure		
1.	Total Alienation and Type of Role and Organization	45
2.	Powerlessness and Type of Role and Organization	46
3.	Meaninglessness and Type of Role and Organization	47
4.	Normlessness and Type of Role and Organization	48
5.	Isolation and Type of Role and Organization	49
6.	Self-Estrangement and Type of Role and Organization	50

CONTEXTS OF TEACHER ALIENATION

FOREWORD

The format of this report necessarily departs from many research papers in at least two respects. First, we begin by including the ideas and premises with which we actually began the research. The relations between the first parts, where our original ideas appear, and the latter parts, where our findings appear, are therefore not always a neatly assembled package of consistency. Some ideas didn't turn out. But we felt this procedure superior, because it gives the reader a more accurate and informative picture of the actual successive connections between original idea, observation, and reinterpretation.

Second, in many places we have combined a finding with an interpretation, a speculation, or an applied suggestion. These are not always taken up in separate sections of the report, because to do so would very probably confuse the reader. There are many variables, expressed in a great many relationships, and to separate findings, interpretations, and speculations would often require recreating the mind of the reader at each point. Further, we often talk in causal terms on the basis of evidence that is not strictly causal, in order to avoid the redundancy and delay that accompany continual qualifications of remark.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of certain forms of teacher alienation and the contexts in which they appear. We shall describe various kinds of teacher alienation and seek out the kinds of schools in which they are most likely to occur.

The idea of alienation has a long and diffuse history, so we shall begin by indicating how we use the term. The basic idea originally developed from work concerned with the cohesion of social systems and the ways individuals are attached to groups.[1] As social life came to be more complicated, and it occurred to people that their affiliation to society could be problemmatic, they began to wonder whether everyone could expect a harmonious and satisfactory relation to their times and contemporaries. From this uncertainty developed the very general idea of alienation, referring to diffuse cognitive and affective feelings about one's relation to the environment.

Alienation is a more encompassing idea than dissatisfaction, for example. It is one's subjective kinship with society, whereas dissatisfaction is a specific negative reaction to particular rewards for particular behaviors. A democratic man might feel his society unjust, though he could be perfectly satisfied with the specific distribution of voting rights. Or, despite satisfaction with his paycheck, he can be alienated in that he feels powerless to control his job and career. Alienation is a generalized sense of discord in the condition of oneself as against events. It is the same feeling that people have about their relations to government, to work, to the whole society--their feeling of distance from the sense and flow of life.

The heuristic value of the idea of alienation is represented in the many works of all kinds which take it as a basic premise: Marx, Durkheim, and even Hobbes are just a few whose familiarity is to some degree a result of their pioneering writings about alienation. Yet this very fact suggests that alienation means different things to different men, and a first task of any investigator is to isolate these meanings and make them observable. Recently, Melvin Seeman distinguished between five kinds of alienation:[2] powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. These classifications will be used as a basis for studying the contexts of teacher alienation.

Alienation

Powerlessness

Powerlessness is the expectation that one's own behavior cannot determine the outcomes he seeks. Although one may have clear goals (outcomes), powerlessness is the assertion that, "whatever one does, the goal will not be brought nearer to consummation because of those acts." This type of alienation is one in which the actor feels he cannot control events in his environment, and that he is aided by "luck." When people looking for jobs, marrying, driving automobiles, etc., depict the act as mainly dependent upon chance, they are expressing the notion that, these situations being what they are, their behavior has little influence upon the outcome, and so they must depend upon coincidence.

Meaninglessness

Meaninglessness is the inability to make any interpretation of events at all. While powerlessness refers to the control of external, though understandable events, meaninglessness precludes even their intelligibility, not to mention their control. Phenomena lack clarity for the party observing the world.

Normlessness

Normlessness is the expectation that socially unapproved behaviors are most efficient in attaining outcomes. Here the actor feels he can control the environment, but deviously, in terms of social norms.

Isolation

Isolation is the devaluation of societal norms. Where normlessness, for Seeman, refers to the expectation that unapproved behaviors will lead to desired goals, isolation challenges the fact that those goals, or the behaviors leading to them, are desirable to begin with. Normlessness is similar to Merton's innovation; isolation to Merton's rebel. Norms are generally devalued rather than abused as impractical.

Self-estrangement

By self-estrangement is meant the devaluation of self in terms of ideal standards. This form of alienation is characterized by a negative comparison between that part of the self image arising out of actual behavior and the ideal standards incorporated through socialization or represented in the behavior of others.

Thus, alienation is one's conception of his general attachment to society, and we shall follow Seeman's conceptual distinction between types of conceived attachment. Many earlier works failed both empirically and theoretically, perhaps because they incorporated many vague and overlapping behaviors such as weak attachment to group norms, without specifying the variety of meanings that had come to be associated with alienation. If there are different forms of alienation, we should be able to observe them by using Seeman's formulation.

Alienation does not of course occur in a vacuum. Once the idea of society had been put forward, it was inevitable that alienation would emerge as a disjuncture in the relations between man and society, and that the cause of this disjuncture would be attributed to certain mileux in the environment. Any activity of men is located in a setting, and it is a predominant view these days--in some cases only an implicit one--that the whole fabric of society causes alienation. An industrial economy, for example, is said to be so impersonal and routinized that it creates apathetic and indifferent workers, who then become ripe followers of antidemocratic political movements. Those taking this view are tied to Marx for their logic of alienation: The structure of society ill begets itself, in such a way as to wreak changes in itself. The form of Marx's argument established the social structure, especially work, as the source of disaffection. Another prominent contemporary view not so different from the latter, is that a mobile and heterogeneous mass society creates workers who feel powerless; organization men who conform in their behavior, yet feel estranged from themselves; and captains of industry who are antidemocratic in their insensitivity to others and in their political perpetuation of themselves. These statements of cause and effect certainly arouse curiosity, but they imply so many unspecified presuppositions and so few empirical tests that they seem equally applicable to events, even when they contradict one another.

In this work we attempt to describe the states of alienation as the various feelings of attachment that a person might have, and to treat that state as an outcome of certain important demands that are made upon him in his work life. In our kind of society, one's work usually takes place in a formal organization, with other people, and through the tissue of personality. Surrounding our labor is a set of other laborers who constrain us by expecting certain things from us, a set of products which are the results of our collective work, and our own special biography of experience. These phenomena of social role, formal organization, and personality are important facets of social life which have a long history as explanations of behavior, and we shall use them here to describe the contexts of alienation. We study teachers, and it is our primary purpose to discover what general circumstances are at work to make them alienated. We are interested in whether various contexts of work--personality, role, and organization--are related to the various forms of self-professed alienation.[3]

We shall suggest that teacher alienation is more likely to occur when the demands upon individuals, which are created by these facets of work are incongruent--when the connections between role, organization, and personality are disjunctive, inconsistent, or incompatible. If a "strain toward symmetry" is a typical characteristic of people, we can expect that asymmetrical circumstances will have different, and in our case alienative, effects that symmetrical ones won't have. The "circumstances" in our case are the personality we bring to work, the expectations and the behaviors of others at work, and the goals of the organization where one works. The "effects" in our case are the various forms of alienation. A person may or may not be alienated, in the sense that he may or may not conceive of his relationship to work in terms of any of the five modes we have described above . He works in the context of organizational goals, the expectations and behaviors of others, a personal conceptual style, and elements of context which may or may not be consistent with one another. If they are not consistent, we expect the individual to be alienated. If they are, we expect him not to be alienated

The following is a brief separate discussion of organization, role, and personality as these ideas were developed for our study.

Organization

Our society is composed of numerous specialized organizations, of which educational institutions are one kind. Schools share many of the characteristics of other organizations: they are mandated by society; they put out a "product;" and they constrain the behavior of members while at the same time developing certain personal and group commitment. In this sense schools are bureaucracies, that is, a set of socially rationalized relationships oriented to some goal. But public schools are distinctive, too. They process people, not things; the people are young, and thus the processing takes the form of transmitting information and value; and, in contrast to other people-processing organizations (prisons, mental hospitals), public schools are not "closed" or "total," since residence and learning do not occur in the same place. Schools thus have a number of specialized purposes which are facilitated in bureaucratic ways.

Once beyond this generality, however, we must account for the fact that schools themselves differ from one another. They are all involved in processing the young, but the particular goal--what is being learned and transmitted, and the kinds of persons which result--can vary from place to place and time to time. And it is at this point that we must develop a conceptual scheme for describing the several kinds of schools insofar as they are differentially organized with regard to their output. We have selected four types of school organization for this comparison--three R's, Occupational, Group Locomotion, and Individual Development.[4]

Three R's

A Three-R's or Type I school might also be called "traditional," for it emphasizes the learning of all things traditionally expected of students. The identify of such a school resides in its effort to produce students who all know the same fundamental academic materials, and similarly exhibit the motivations and values which are acceptable to society. The Three R's school, for example, would group students according to age, provide standard exercises for classwork, and reward the student who seems hard-working and bright. It is a school in which the pupil must learn the content, and where development must conform to the value. A traditional elementary school is the modal type.

Occupational

An occupational school is an academic school, sometimes vocational, and is organized around the preparation of students for careers that are in high economic demand. In an Occupational school (Type II) the primary focus is on student specialization. Being highly responsive to the economic sector of the society and community, such schools currently emphasize technical learning. They group by curriculum area, emphasize the "problem" approach in class exercises, and reward the student who flexibly assimilates new materials. A vocational secondary school is the purest type, although upper middle class junior and senior highs where students are being groomed for professional careers would likely fall into this category.

Group Locomotion

A Group Locomotion Type III school focuses on collective student action, and thus emphasizes decision making and group activity. It attempts to produce leadership and participation for the school and, eventually, for the community. Students who work to change their group and its situation are rewarded most regularly, and special rewards are given to particular students as being exemplary representatives of their group. In this kind of school prime goals are the overall accomplishment of a class and its teacher, the utilization of group processes, and the gratifications of social membership. The most common type would be the elementary school in ethnic minority neighborhoods where students' relationships to the dominant institutions are emphasized.

Individual Development

The emphasis in the Type IV school is on the individual self in relation to other individual selves. Students learn the similarities and differences which express their relations to one another, such as freedom, equality, individual autonomy, unfreedom, inequality and personal constraint. Being tied to the internal state of the classroom and the relations between members, the specific educational and personal goals of students can vary without being accompanied by invidious comparisons. Individual Development schools teach the students about themselves, counsel them individually, and generally permit the student to develop at his own pace with substantive materials of his own choice. This type is best represented by the progressive elementary or secondary school which is oriented toward the development of unique qualities in students.

Each of these four kinds of school organization will presumably engender different demands upon the teacher. A Three-R's school will require him to be universalistic with regard to both pupils and content, whereas an Individual Development school will require him to regularly make distinctions between his students and between the cognitive materials with which they work. Occupational schools, meanwhile, will demand that he emphasize the various restricted intellectual materials which society deems important, on the one hand, but a generalized student commitment to specialization and achievement, on the other. A Group Locomotion school will stress qualities of pupil leadership and collective action rather than the content of what is learned. As these schools go about training their students, we expect that they will require distinctive behavior by teachers, and that these distinctions have the potential, in conjunction with the demands of role, for producing differential attachment to school and society in both kind and degree.

Role

Authoritarian-Ritualistic

In this role, teacher authority resides entirely within the institutionalized patterns of the particular school and schools in general. Students are without authority in the sense that there is no teacher expectation that they should be consulted about the way the class is conducted. All activity and work are assigned by the teacher, and he describes the specific ways in which these activities are to be accomplished. The classroom activity changes only as the world and the society change. The image of the teacher remains one of protector of the public morality and the conveyor or reinforcer of those social norms which describe the society at large.

The Protestant Ethic constitutes the pervasive moral system of the classroom. Competition, ambition, industriousness, cleanliness, politeness, cooperativeness, religiosity, patriotism, nonaggressiveness, conformity, and a group-oriented friendliness are the qualities of contemporary America which are positively sanctioned and reinforced. The classroom mirrors and supports these values.

In this role the emphasis of intellectual material is on the Three R's. Techniques for encouraging learning in these areas emerge from the teacher's conception of the class as object rather than subject. As object, the teacher is to form the class into one learning unit with single criteria for performance, and to mold it to the value standards of the larger society. Industriousness is reinforced and laziness punished. Interactions are competitive toward universalistic goals, the love of the teacher being one goal at the primary school level. Teachers play students against each other by making grades and standings in class apparent by seating, attitude, or revealing where persons stand in relation to each other. Gratifications for performance ordinarily only go to those who are at the top of the class, and rewards are sparsely confirmed except as traditional values of cooperativeness (always being quiet or helping teacher), and morality (cleanliness, neatness, nonaggressiveness) are demonstrated.

Instrumental

The teacher in this category is academically oriented and classes proceed in terms of specific learning goals that the teacher establishes as independent from the interests and qualities of class members. Tests and assignments, though they may be varied in substance, are oriented to universalistic standards of competence against which all are judged. Everyone does the same work at the same time, has the same assignments, takes the same tests and is graded on a hundred point scale with a fixed number representing a fixed grade.

This kind of teacher, however, is not oriented to socializing pupils in moralistic terms. These sanctions are not as ritualistic as in the case of Categories I and III. Teacher pressures are concentrated in the task area and loosened in the interaction area. This teacher plays down the socializing aspects of classroom behavior, but accommodates the problems of students in this area by interacting on a personal level, by providing materials when forgotten, excusing or punishing independently of group standards, and permitting class authority for sanctioning the violations of school rules to reside in the class. This teacher encourages group activities in interpersonal, nontask situations such as digressions for games, outdoor fun, films unrelated to work, etc. This teacher, while strongly dedicated to high standards of performance universalistically evaluted, is generally encouraging to students, provides extra help, and is supportive of those who have problems.

Ritualistic-Gratificatory

Interpersonal authority emerges from the same culture that directs the authoritarian-ritualistic teacher. Interaction, movement, talking, leadership, morale-all are directed and sanctioned along the value laden lines of the Protestant Ethic as presented. Violations of traditional conduct norms are punished categorically. In the task area, however, unlike the A-R type, the R-G teacher compromises her presentation of work to accommodate the qualities of her students. Her grading standards are more particularistic in that students can receive gratification for some things that they do well in, and that are not necessarily related to the traditional curriculum. Their enjoyment of the work is taken into account by the teacher since it is pitched to their level; tests are flexible in terms of when they are given and how hard they will be. Student progress dictates the nature and time of evaluation.

Guidance

This type of teacher is expected to depend entirely on the specific social group in the classroom for cues as to how he should perform. His emphasis is on producing comfortable situations for study, varying the work, accommodating work to abilities, fitting individuals to their social situations, encouraging group participation, and providing a great deal of individual help.

Institutionalized moralistic values are depressed by this teacher. His approach is to ask "why?" for behavior, and then to work out the problems by high pupil-to-teacher interaction.

Pupil needs, abilities, deficiencies, and interests provide the teacher with insights into the way class labor can be divided, either individually or by groups. His tone is warm, and friendly. He sees this as instrumental to his task. A good learning atmosphere to this teacher is one that is effectively toned and relaxed. His style is to provide an environment for free-flowing and easy communication.[5]

Thus, teacher roles can vary in style, according to their emphasis on productivity, achievement, and morale. The tasks and atmosphere created by teachers can be personalized, or standardized, and the authority for classroom behavior can reside in the teacher alone, as the representative of the school and society, or in both the teacher and students. Students and teachers can interact much or little, and tasks can be adapted to students or students adapted to tasks. Tasks performance, and valued behavior in the classroom, can be assessed in universal or particularistic terms.

These four types of roles can in any actual case be influenced by three sources: (1) by teachers, as set of expectations about what should be done in the classroom; (2) by teachers, as a set of activities actually done and observed in the classroom; (3) by pupils, as a set of expectations about what should be done in the classroom. That is, each of these three aspects of role must be considered as a set of conditions which constrain and may alienate teachers. A particular teacher, for example, may expect that teachers in general should engage in guidance behavior, but observes that other teachers, and perhaps even himself, actually engage in authoritarian-ritualistic behavior, while at the same time the pupils in his school expect their teachers to behave instrumentally. Each of these sources must be taken into account with regard to alienation, since a discrepancy between them will presumably have a differential alienative effect than congruence between them. The four types of role will be assessed in terms of each of these aspects of role for every school.[6]

Personality

Unilateral Dependence

A unilateral dependent or Type I personality sees all situations and all people's perceptions of these situations as being exactly the same as his, and therefore subject to the same rules and regulations which will resolve any problem. He perceives a situation as having boundaries which are easily defined and subject to simple rules and regulations which can and should alleviate any discomfort in self or between self and others. He takes to each situation his own experiences and his own perception of these experiences and transfers them *en toto* to other people, whom he presupposes to be in similar situations and to have had similar experiences. Resolution of a problem is of prime importance to this personality. Predominant behaviors of unilateral dependence include: (1) compartmentalization, (2) minimization of conflict, (3) self-definition in absolute terms, (4) unilateral orientation to rules. Such a person is most responsive to immediacy, right and wrong, and to external control.

Negative Dependence

A Type II personality recognizes that there is more than one way of perceiving a situation and describes a very primitive way of integrating the different views. Rules and regulations are not absolute as in Type I, but vary with conditions. However, within a given set of conditions, these rules are fairly absolute. A Type II personality can separate himself from others--probably one of the most significant distinctions between a Type I and Type II personality. This implies branched cognitive and self structures between the self and others in the total environmental field. These structures are not necessarily consistent over time or place, nor are they interdependent except when they serve to reduce discomfort.

Conditional Dependence and Mutuality

A Type III perceives a situation from his own point of view, while recognizing that his perceptions and the perceptions of others are influenced by society and exposure to the environmental field. He sees the varied views as not necessarily juxtaposed or creating more conflict, but merely as several different ways of looking at the same problem. He also uses this information in his daily relationships, and integrates it when feasible and possible.

Interdependence

Type IV not only are aware of the presence of other perceptions, and integrate various themes represented by those perceptions, but also understand that because of these differences there are alternative solutions to conflict, depending on the character and relations between such differences. Causal statements are not absolute. The alternatives perceived often lead to reorganization of previously held views and development of a theory involving the connections between alternative modes of behavior and perception, as well as reasons for and causes of these alternatives.

In summary, personalities vary according to degree of abstraction and assimilation. Beginning with personalities that are concrete and thus cannot overcome the particulars of time and place, including the restricted viewpoint of the self without reference to other selves, there can be a successive increment in abstraction, accompanied by comparable increments in the assimilation and integration of other viewpoints. As we move from one level of personality to another, we move away from unilateral dependence and toward interdependence in conceptual style.

One further point should be made here about the distinct subtypes of organization, role, and personality. Although we have described each subtype as if it were fully distinct from the other subtypes within a particular facet of demand, they are conceptually related to one another within the dimension of increasing differentiation of students, content, and the distribution of authority. As we move from a Three R's school to an Individual Development school for example, we also move from universalistic treatment of students and intellectual content, with the teacher as locus of authority, to particularistic treatment and content with the class as locus of authority. Each of the subtypes constructed around a single overarching facet of demand is thus comparable to another in the sense that they are points on a continuum of increasing differentiation. Any subtype I is "further away" from subtype IV, for example, than it is from subtype II.

Organization, role, and personality have each been divided into four corresponding subtypes, in order to test whether demands are similar or dissimilar across these facets of work, and this is what is meant by congruence-incongruence. A congruent context, for example, would be Type I across-the-board. Unilateral Dependent personality, inhabiting an Authoritarian-Ritualistic role, working in a Three R's school. Here we would expect little or no alienation. An incongruent context, on the other hand, would vary between facets: a Unilateral Dependent personality, a Guidance role, and an Occupational school. In this case, and in any other incongruent permutation, we would expect greater alienation of the teacher. Here the personality would be comfortable with extrinsic evaluations and absolute ideas, although others would expect him to differentiate them; at the same time the directly occupational goals of the school would demand the varied behaviors characteristic of specialization. It is our premise that these kinds of circumstances do not engender an integrated conception of the world of work.

Our basic ideas can be summarized in the following paradigm:

←Congruence→

Increasing Differentiation ↓

ORGANIZATION	ROLE	PERSONALITY
Type I Three R's	Authoritarian-Ritualistic	Unilateral Dependence
Type II Occupational	Instrumental	Negative Dependence
Type III Group Locomotion	Ritualistic-Gratificatory	Conditional Dependence and Mutuality
Type IV Individual Development	Guidance	Interdependence

Thus, organization, role, and personality are facets of demand on the individual, and the congruence-incongruence of these demands will, if we are correct, affect the degree of teacher alienation.

These ideas suggest the major questions around which we have gathered and shall organize our data:

1. How is total alienation, or a particular kind of alienation, related to incongruence between type of role, type of organization, and type of personality within a school?

2. Is any single facet of demand (personality, role, or organization) more often associated with alienation than the other two?

3. Is a given degree of alienation better described as an interactive or additive effect of the relations between personality, role, and organization?

METHOD

Design

The nature of our major questions suggests using a factorial design where three independent variables (personality, role, and organization), are juxtaposed in order to study their independent and interactive effects on one dependent variable (alienation). The congruency hypothesis will be tested by patterning the interaction possibilities of the independent variables together, and looking at the resultant alienation scores for each pattern. More detailed descriptions of techniques are included where appropriate.

Population and Sample

From a universe of all public schools in the State of Delaware (N=95), a sample of 18 schools, (10 elementary and 8 secondary) were chosen for this study. Seventeen teachers in each of the original universe of all schools had been given the organization instrument alone, and from these results the final sample of 18 schools was selected to represent each of the four types of school organization. This procedure was necessary to insure inclusion of all organizational types, since they are large units and might not appear otherwise. The sample is described in Table I.

Once schools were selected, all administrators and full-time staff were tested on each facet and for alienation. Thus, we have selected 18 schools to represent all four types of school organization, and to represent elementary and secondary levels, within which all teaching staff are included. Superintendents were always the first to be contacted, then our investigator met with the staff to discuss the objectives of the study. Within each school the pupil role questionnaire was administered to a sample that the student body selected by random techniques. All teachers in the school took the teacher roles, organization, and personality tests.

All data were collected through questionnaires (see Appendices for instruments). An instrument was developed and pretested for each of our three major variables--alienation, organization, and role, and included a psychometric item analysis for all but the personality instrument. Three role instruments were developed for teachers and students.

All data were collected in one session in the Spring of a single year. Teacher data were collected at the school, usually during a regular staff meeting, and pupil data during a regular class period.

Table 1

Distribution of Teacher Characteristics

Sex		School Type		Age		Marital Status	
M	210	Elem.	257	21-30	186	S	117
F	323	Jr. High	69	31-40	134	M	381
		Sr. High	209	41-50	99	Other	34
				51-over	102		

Questionnaires asked for fixed-alternative answers. The size of the project and the nature of our hypotheses require a standardized question-answer format. Our division of organization and role into four subtypes each, for example, demands that respondents choose between each of these dimensions each time they respond. Each question for each instrument is accompanied by four alternatives representing the four conceptual subtypes.

Analysis

Three analytical techniques were applied to the data. First, chi square tests were applied to the autobiographical data in relation to alienation. Second, correlational analysis was used in looking at the interrelationships of the three independent variables, the interrelationship of the subcategories of each of the independent variables and the relationship of each of the independent variables separately with the dependent variable (alienation). The third technique was an analysis of multiple cross-classifications.* This technique was used primarily to look at interaction patterns, of congruence and incongruence of personality, role, and organization, as these were related to estimates of alienation. These estimates, were based on an additive model, in which the independent effects of each type of each independent variable, in combination with every other type were considered. The study was not concerned with the independent contributions to the additive effects, but simply with the variations of interaction, that is comparisons of combinations.

The analysis of interactional effect focused exclusively upon the combinations of subcategories of the independent variables, as these combinations (i.e., personality Type I, role Type III, organization Type IV) were related to amounts of alienation within a school. For the purpose of this study, the school was the predominant unit of analysis.

RESULTS

In this section we shall present only the results that directly pertain to our three major questions.

Facets of Demand and Alienation

Here we are interested in whether disjunctures between the important demands on the teacher (the context of his life at work), are associated with alienation more often than congruence between these demands. Before presenting these data, however, and for clarity, the reader should be apprised of our method of scoring.

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*Identified as LSQ and subroutines, programming by Alan B. Wilson, Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley.

Each teacher in all 18 schools of our sample took all tests (alienation, organization, personality, and teacher role-should and do) except the pupil role. Scores on each of the five subdimensions of alienation (powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement) were summed for a total alienation score when necessary. From these individual measures an overall mean score for all schools was computed on each variable, as well as a mean score for each school taken separately. We thus have both individual and collective comparisons for organization, role, personality, and alienation, and can describe a particular school score as relatively high or low on any variable by comparing it with the overall mean score of all schools in the sample. We can, in other words, discuss climates of schools and their relative differences dealing with individual and school scores in this way. This is, of course, a technical procedure for testing the idea of context or situation--in our terms, for testing the influence of such external demands as organization, role, and personality upon the teacher's sense of attachment to his work and to society. By aggregating individual responses, we can characterize a school, and then compare this characteristic with the alienation of those within it.

To begin very simply, Table 2 presents alienation scores for all teachers. The most pervasive alienation is on the Isolation dimension (122 teachers), while Self-estrangement is the form least likely to occur (18 alienated teachers, 287 unalienated teachers). Some 52 teachers are alienated overall, that is, are likely to check alienated responses regardless of form. In general more teachers are unalienated than alienated.

In the description of school contexts, in Table 2 we note the empirical fact that not a single school is congruent on all five measures of role, organization and personality. Our first descriptive point must thus be that schools are composed of a variety of substantively different activities. The personalities, roles, and organizational goals which coexist in a given school are typically mixed.

Table 3 incorporates a technical difficulty that we must briefly describe here: teacher scores on the personality instrument were concentrated enough to justify only two classes of personality rather than our original four. That is, personalities of the teachers in our sample are only different enough to support the existence of two types of

Table 2

Alienation for All Teachers

	Not Alienated		Moderately Alienated	Alienated	
Raw Score	11-17	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-40
			Powerlessness		
N	13	174	264	21	1
			Meaninglessness		
N	5	114	304	49	1
			Normlessness		
N	10	152	250	57	5
			Isolation		
N	4	33	315	117	5
			Self-estrangement		
N	56	231	169	15	3

Total Alienation

Raw Score	60-79	80-99	100-19	120-39	140-59	160+
	1	16	158	248	46	6

personality on the empirical level. The remaining two types are not represented by actual cases. Thus, rather than unilateral dependence, negative dependence, conditional dependence and mutuality, and interdependence, we have only two classifications--concrete and abstract. They represent the same dimensions of conceptual style as in the original conceptualization, but take cognizance of the empirical absence of two modes of personality. In light of our later findings, fortunately, this change will not seriously damage our analysis of contexts of alienation.

Table 3 shows that a single school typically exhibits a very wide array of internal demand. In only one school (6) do we find a school congruent even on four of the five measures of demand. According to our question about the relation between incongruence and alienation, we would expect alienation to occur in all of the teachers in our sample, since every school is incongruent on at least one dimension of social demand. Taking total alienation as the dependent variable, along with the interpretive caution that we are here using absolute rather than relative differences in scores, Table 3 indicates that this is not the case.

Table 4 shows that teachers tend not to be alienated in the absolute sense, that is, only 17.9% will choose 50% or more alienated responses. Teachers who are not alienated outnumber those who are, by about four to one.[7]

Descriptively, then, we can summarize Tables 3 and 4 by saying that there is little absolute congruence between organization and role, and personality in schools, and little absolute total alienation among teachers in these schools. Total congruence between facets of demand apparently has little to do with absolute alienation, since no school is fully congruent across personality, organization and all aspects of role.

It is important to know that schools generally are not fully congruent, but at the same time they are not totally alienated. A single school does exhibit varieties of mixed activity without having disasterous effects on the attachment of a majority of its teachers. Schools not only maintain a substantive division of labor in Durkheim's sense (teachers with different specialities, and so forth), those who administer and those who teach, but also a dispersal of demand within that division of labor. They are characterized by a very wide range of activity and demand that directly bears upon, but does not overwhelm, the greater number of individual teachers. It has been said that a division of labor, as part of a social system, protects the individual by providing buffers between him and the

Table 3

Personality, Role and Organization Demand Type for All Schools*

School	Personality	Pupil R	Teacher R (Should)	Teacher R (Do)	Organization
1	A (III+IV)	RG (III)	AR (I)	AR (I)	ID (IV)
2	C (I+II)	AR (I)	G (IV)	AR (I)	O (II)
3	A (III+IV)	AR (I)	G (IV)	I (II)	3R (I)
4	A (III+IV)	AR (I)	I (II)	AR (I)	O (II)
5	A (III+IV)	I (II)	RG (III)	RG (III)	3R (I)
6	A (III+IV)	G (IV)	AR (I)	G (IV)	ID (IV)
7	C (I+II)	AR (I)	I (II)	G (IV)	GL (III)
8	C (I+II)	RG (III)	AR (I)	RG (III)	3R (I)
9	A (III+IV)	I (II)	AR (I)	RG (III)	ID (IV)
10	A (III+IV)	G (IV)	AR (I)	RG (III)	GL (III)
11	C (I+II)	RG (III)	G (IV)	I (II)	GL (III)
12	C (I+II)	G (IV)	AR (I)	AR (I)	ID (IV)
13	A (III+IV)	RG (III)	AR (I)	I (II)	GL (III)
14	A (III+IV)	G (IV)	I (II)	I (II)	O (II)
15	C (I+II)	RG (III)	RG (III)	AR (I)	3R (I)
16	C (I+II)	AR (I)	G (IV)	G (IV)	GL (III)
17	C (I+II)	G (IV)	G (IV)	I (II)	O (II)
18	C (I+II)	AR (I)	G (IV)	G (IV)	GL (III)

For convenience, the corresponding type number is in parenthesis following the substantive designation.

*Role

AR = Authoritarian-Ritualistic
I = Instrumental
RG = Ritualistic-Gratificatory
G = Guidance

Organization

3R = Three R's
O = Occupational
GL = Group Locomotion
ID = Individual Development

Personality

C = Concrete
A = Abstract

Table 4

Proportion of Teachers Alienated and Not Alienated*

Alienated	Not Alienated
17.9% (97)	82.1% (433)

*The cutting point for an alienated score is 50% or more alienated responses and is arbitrary.

multitudes of activity that go on in complex systems of social organization. The socially provided division of labor channels the expectations for doing some of these activities to a few, some activities to others, and so on, thus making it possible to accomplish all the things necessary for survival of the group without at the same time demanding that each individual spread himself among all these things. We can speculate additionally that even when buffers are less in evidence, and a wide array of difficult activities comes to bear upon the individual directly as a broad congeries of potentially inconsistant demands, from personality, role, and organization, there is no overwhelmingly disaffected response by him to these matters. Schools in which one aspect of role is one thing, and another aspect another, and conceptual style and organizational purposes still another, the membership is not so disrupted as to engender gross amounts of alienated teachers.

Nevertheless, even a small number of alienated persons can have a disproportionate effect on their pupils, colleagues, and community. Aside from being interested in absolute alienation, we want to know also the alienative effects of one kind of school environment compared to another, because alienation can make a practical difference in the quality of training in the school, in the motivation of students, and in the school's capacity to sustain itself in the community. Thus, besides merely describing absolute alienation and congruence in demand, we want to analyze the relations of influence between the various types of school climate and alienation. Under what conditions of demand, for example, is teacher alienation more likely to increase, even if the total amount of alienated teachers will be less than half the population of the school? It being likely that a school with four alienated teachers in ten will be different than a school with one, or zero alienated teacher in ten, we want to know under what contexts of demand these results occur.

We shall investigate these relations in several ways, first by observing whether schools which exhibit a relatively greater emphasis on one type of demand are also schools with relatively greater teacher alienation. In order to do this, we shall first have to indicate how our types of personality, role and organization are expressions of two different foci, the one an emphasis on content and the other on students. That is, the substantive focus of personality, role, and organization can in an educational setting vary between an emphasis on the content to be learned and the student who is learning. Following this, we shall be able to uncover more subtle relations between elements of school functioning, and hereby point out certain features of alienation and school context that could otherwise remain unobserved.

Content - Student Focus As School Climate

Table 5 shows that Type I role and organization are more closely correlated with their Type II counterparts than with their Type III and IV counterparts, Type II's are more closely correlated with Type III than with Type IV, and so on. Taking pupil role as an example, Authoritarian-Ritualistic is correlated .400 with instrumental, -.081 with ritualistic-gratification, and -.909 with guidance. With a few exceptions, there is a progressive and consistent empirical relationship here which suggests that we have more than four nominally distinct and unrelated types. They are not "equidistant" from one another. Instead, there appears to be an underlying dimension on which we can locate certain points, a dimension which turns our types into variables. A Three R's school, for example, is more highly correlated with an Occupational school (-.016) than with a Group Locomotion school (-.456). An authoritarian-ritualistic teacher-do role is closer to an Instrumental Do Role (.833) than to a Guidance Role (-.904), and so on. (With only two types of classifications for personality, we cannot describe the relation between them (-.261) as a progression, but we can say they are not related to one another.) Setting aside the deviant cases for a moment, we must next formulate this empirical relationship so as to illuminate the kind and quality of school activity it represents.

Types I and II are strongly content-oriented. Both Three R's and Occupational Schools stress what is to be learned, in the first case a single set of basic materials, in the second a multiple set of vocational ones. The role counterparts of these types of organization are similar. An authoritarian-ritualistic teacher is expected above all to produce the greatest number of students with the greatest grasp of content. The instrumental teacher, though presenting a wider varity of content through a wider variety of teacher conduct, is nevertheless expected to get the materials across, whatever they might be. And the more Concrete personalities characteristic of unilateral dependence and negative independence tend to rely on the external and consistent conceptualizations which are more likely to be furnished by specifiable written plans and materials than by the behavior of different students in a classroom. Types I and II thus emphasize materials to be learned by students. They focus on content.

Types III and IV, on the other hand, are rather distinct in their stress on people. A Group Locomotion school emphasizes the development of leadership and the collective action of people, and Individual Development school the development of the self and an understanding of the relations between individuals. A Ritualistic-Gratification role is characterized by high interaction between teacher and groups of students, the behavioral activities of the class are expected

Table 5

Intercorrelations of Facets of Demand

Pupil Role

Type		AR	I	RG	G
I	AR	1.000	.400	-.081	-.909
II	I	.400	1.000	.259	-.370
III	RG	-.081	-.259	1.000	-.032
IV	G	-.909	.370	-.032	1.000

Teacher Role (Should)

		AR	I	RG	G
I	AR	1.000	.732	-.359	-.721
II	I	.732	1.000	-.816	-.708
III	RG	-.359	-.816	1.000	.745
IV	G	-.721	-.708	.745	1.000

Teacher Role (Do)

		AR	I	RG	G
I	AR	1.000	.833	-.659	-.904
II	I	.833	1.000	-.903	-.849
III	RG	-.659	-.903	1.000	.802
IV	G	-.904	-.849	.802	1.000

Organization

		3R	O	GL	ID
I	3R	1.000	-.016	-.456	.249
II	O	-.016	1.000	-.325	-.435
III	GL	-.456	-.325	1.000	.197
IV	ID	-.249	-.435	.197	1.000

Personality

Type	Concrete	Abstract
I + II Concrete	1.000	-.261
III + IV Abstract	-.261	1.000

to determine the amount and content of lectures, and the teacher is expected to be responsive to the class more often than the other way around. A Guidance role shares this emphasis on students, except that it carries an expectation to make finer distinctions between them as individuals. Finally, Type III and IV personalities can be externally oriented rather than externally controlled--they can be responsive to immediate environmental shifts and pupil behavior rather than to the routines learned or inscribed elsewhere, with the result that such personalities are more likely to adapt the standard materials to particular students with whom they are involved on a day-to-day basis. In this case, content is assimilated to the special and shifting circumstances created by the array and variety of students in the classroom.

We are suggesting here that Types I and II share a focus on Content, while Types III and IV share a focus on Students. The intercorrelations of the facets of demand in Table 5 support the idea empirically in two respects: (1) The types are directly related according to their conceptual proximity to and distance from one another, that is, they are not equally related or unrelated across-the-board; (2) In general, the correlations are positive within a focus (e.g., within Three R's and Occupational schools), and negative between a focus (between Three R's and Individual Development schools.) The first relationship suggests that the content-student dimension is supportable, the second that schools which are on one side are more like one another than those on the other side.

Content - Student Focus and Congruence

Table 6 classifies all schools in the study according to whether their focus is Content or Student oriented, and whether their alienation score is relatively high or low.[8] C and S represent the dominant focus in the school and refer to content and student, respectively, while H and L refer to high or low relative alienation. Types I and II for organization, role, and personality are now represented as emphasizing a Content focus; Types III and IV a Student focus. Emphasis is determined empirically by relative score on each type for organization, role, and personality. Each school was ranked on each type, and the rank then placed within a quartile of the whole school sample. For example, one school exhibited the following profile for pupil role:

Pupil Role

C		S	
AR	I	RG	G
2	3	2	3

The emphasis here was very close as between Authoritarian-Ritualistic and Ritualistic-Gratificatory, both falling in the second quartile, so the score for each of these types was consulted. The score nearest to a first quartile ranking was Ritualistic-Gratificatory, and of the two types falling in the third quartile Guidance was closer to the second quartile than I. Taking these factors into consideration, pupil role in the school was classified as focusing upon students rather than materials. It might be added that of all seventy-two profiles this particular profile was among only five requiring the second step. In most of the other profiles for the 18 schools, the pattern was conclusive and the second step unnecessary.

According to Table 6, no school is fully congruent in focus, but this is a result of the fact that there are three measures of role, and scores on these measures often do not coincide. What pupils think teachers should do, what teachers think teachers should do, and what teachers think teachers actually do, apparently does not generate much agreement among the teachers and pupils for a single school. As *school scores* (not as individual scores) representing a profile of the school rather than the individuals within the school, we can see in Table 6 that role expectations and inferred role behavior are quite disparate. A school in which the typical pupil expectation for teachers is predominantly a focus on Content, can exhibit a typical teacher expectation that they should focus on Students. Similarly, a school in which the teacher believes he *should* focus on materials can also be a school in which he *thinks* teachers *do* focus on students. The "ecology" of roles, as it were, varies considerably within the community of the school.

This ecological jumble is not always associated with alienation, however comparing what pupils expect their teachers should do with what teachers expect that teachers should do, for example, we find high total alienation in 5 schools (2,3,8,18) where these expectations are incongruent (C in our case, S in the other), in 4 schools (4,7,11,17) where they are congruent; and we find low total alienation in 7 schools (1,5,6,8,10,12,13,16) where they are incongruent, in only 2 schools (9,15) where they are not. If anything, the latter suggests that low alienation is associated with role incongruence, but there are other matters to be taken up before such a conclusion would be supportable. We can only say that the fact of incongruence between the focus and type of role seems to have little to do with alienation as a school characteristic.

But a trend does appear with regard to incongruence between Teacher Should, and Teacher Do, as aspects of role.

In Table 7 we find a slight positive relation between alienation and contradiction in schools where Teacher Should focuses on Students but Teacher Do focuses on Content, and a slight negative relation in schools where Should is Content and Do is Students.

According to Table 7, total alienation is more likely to be high when the Should emphasis is on Students but the Do emphasis is on Materials, (four out of six schools). Alienation also occurs less often when the contradiction runs the other way, when Should is Content and Do is Students (four out of five schools). These relations are slight, but they do indicate that a distinction between Content and people is a helpful one. When role focus is congruent, as when both Should and Do focus together upon either Content or both focus on Students, it makes little difference for alienation one way or the other. Alienation is both high and low in congruent schools, whatever their focus. When a school is incongruent, however, it does make a difference in alienation, and this difference depends on the direction of incongruence. If the school role profile places an expected value on Students, yet exhibits an activity stressing Content, alienation is likely to be high in that school. If conditions of role are reversed, however, and the value is Content and activity upon Students, alienation is likely to be low. Why? What is there about the conceptual distinction between value and activity, in relation to the substantive difference between Content and Student foci, that would produce this difference in alienation? A congruent role focus makes little difference for alienation, whatever that focus might be. But an incongruent focus does make a difference, although the difference will move in opposite directions, depending on which focus is accompanied by which aspect of role. Alienation is high in schools where teachers think they should focus on Students but attribute a Content emphasis to the actual behavior of teachers in their school, whereas alienation is low when this is reversed. It is thus not the mere discrepancy between Should and Do that may account for alienation, but the substance of focus attached to this discrepancy. Congruence, the absence of discrepancy, apparently is irrelevant to alienation, in this instance being unrelated to either high or low alienation. The presence of such a discrepancy does become a factor, however, when we attach the idea of variation to the substance of role.

Here we should briefly discuss some very basic issues in order to understand this finding. The distinction between doing and expecting is as old as the discipline of sociology, and represents two traditions in the discipline. The first tradition, in which the most celebrated figure is Marx, and Veblen to a lesser degree, stresses the behavior of man,

Table 6

Focus and Alienation by School*

School	Personality	Pupil Role	Teacher (S)	Teacher (Do)	Organ.	Forms of Alienation					
						T	P	M	N	I	SE
1	S	S	C	C	S	L	L	L	L	L	L
2	C	C	S	C	C	H	L	H	H	H	H
3	S	C	S	C	C	H	H	H	H	H	H
4	S	C	C	C	C	H	H	H	H	H	H
5	S	C	S	C	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
6	S	S	C	S	S	L	L	L	L	L	L
7	C	C	C	S	S	H	H	H	H	H	H
8	C	S	C	S	C	L	L	H	H	H	L
9	S	C	C	S	S	L	L	L	L	L	L
10	S	S	C	S	S	L	L	L	L	L	H
11	C	S	S	C	S	H	H	H	H	H	H
12	C	S	C	C	S	L	L	L	L	L	L
13	S	S	C	C	S	L	L	L	L	L	L
14	S	S	C	C	C	H	H	H	H	H	H
15	C	S	S	C	C	L	L	L	L	L	L
16	C	C	S	S	S	L	H	L	L	L	H
17	C	S	S	C	C	H	H	H	H	H	H
18	C	C	S	S	S	H	H	L	H	L	L

*
S = Student Focus
C = Content Focus
L = Low
H = High
T = Total

P = Powerlessness
M = Meaninglessness
N = Normlessness
I = Isolation
SL = Self-estrangement

his routine and everyday activities, as the most important determinant of his attachment to society, his ideas about life, and his knowledge of things as they are. Here it is the activity mandated by the social position itself which surrounds and determines one's choices, feelings, and thoughts. The latter, for Marx and Veblen, are mere epiphenomena of overarching the influence of social structure.

Weber and Mannheim, on the other hand, take the view that a man's ideas, in our case his expectations, can overcome his position to the extent that he can wreak changes in his activities when the two are out of phase with one another. They take the view that man can be committed to his expectations to the point of influencing his own acts, even when those acts are out of accord with his position.

In our case, and with the important reminder that we are talking about very few schools, a discrepancy is not associated with alienation when the activity (Do) is Students, but the expectation (Should) is Content. Conversely, discrepancy is associated with alienation when activity (Do) emphasis is on Content, but expectation (Should) emphasis is on students. High alienation, in other words, is associated with an active Content focus in the face of expected Student focus, and low alienation occurs when teachers are perceived as acting in terms of a student focus, when it is felt they should be acting in terms of Content. When no contradiction in role occurs, and thus no discrepancy between expectation and activity, alienation is not clearly associated with either content or students. It is our interpretation that discrepancy of any kind tends to trigger the possibility of alienation--it becomes an issue to those involved--and teachers are then pushed toward it or, surprisingly, away from it, depending upon the actual activity they observe in the school where they teach.

Alienation depends first on some sort of cognitive discrepancy, even when it is cathected and emotionally based. One must be alienated from something. One must have questioned his attachment if he is to be alienated in the way we use the term, it is a felt condition (though the teacher need not use the precise term of course). It is less likely that such questioning would occur when both the activity around us and our expectations mesh, as is the case in congruent schools. But when they do not, we speculate that the teacher will engage in attempts to orient himself with regard to the context in which the discrepancy occurs--that is, he will assess whether or not he "belongs."

We might say, then, that a consistent set of role demands does not affect alienation one way or another, alienation here being responsive to the many other aspects of social life, but when the certain aspects of role that are characterized by expectation as against activity, are inconsistent, the potentiality of alienation arises and is resolved, depending on what the teacher understands the role activity of his colleagues to be like. If the focus of the role is on a Content, this potentiality is realized in disattachment, if it is a Student focus, it is not. That is, a Student focus as activity depresses the alienative potential of such a school for those who believe teachers should focus on Content, whereas a content activity does alienate those who believe students should be central in the functioning of a teacher. The one arouses disaffection; the other does not. A grossly speculative and common reason for this is that those who act in terms of people rather than things are flexible and less likely to negatively sanction others in their direct interaction. These viewpoints are institutionalized in organizations such as schools.

In summary, a cognitive discrepancy in aspects of role seems necessary to alienation. A discrepancy in expectation appears to be required before the quality or focus of role activity can come into play. When it does, those who understand themselves to be surrounded by an active stress on Content and things become alienated, while those amidst a stress on Students and people do not. When aspects of role are consistent, on the other hand, role taken alone has little relation to alienation.

With this introduction to certain role findings behind us, we may now continue to discuss congruence with regard to organization. We shall inspect the connection between alienation, and the various aspects of role, and organization. In order to do so, we shall alternately drop out of the analysis one aspect of role and then another, thus permitting an analytic congruence in focus to obtain between organization and the remaining aspects of role. This procedure will enable us to assess the alienative effects of pure focus in such a way as to inform us about their relative influence in actual schools when a focus is always mixed.

According to Table 6 and using the classifications Pupil Role, Teacher Role Should, Organization and Personality (omitting Teacher Role Do), nine schools are relatively congruent in either their Content or Student focus (1,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,13), that is they have the same focus on 3 of the 4 remaining facets of demand, six are congruent in their focus on Students and three are congruent in their focus on Content. Five of the six Student schools exhibit a low alienation score, and two of the three Content schools exhibit a high alienation score.

Omitting Teacher Role Should, and using all other facets of demand, eleven schools are congruent, (1,2,3,4,5,6,9,10, 13,15,17). Five of these schools focus on Students six on Content.

All five Students schools exhibit low alienation, whereas four of the six Content schools exhibit high alienation.

Omitting Pupil Role, twelve schools (2,4,6,8,9, 10,12,14,15,16,17,18), are congruent--five with a Content focus and seven with Students focus. Of the five Student schools, four exhibit low alienation. Of the seven Content schools, four exhibit high alienation.

Thus, with regard to congruent schools, focus is consistently associated with alienation. Alienation is much less likely to occur where there is a relatively greater focus on Students, rather than on Content. Taking all instances of Student focus, low alienation occurs 87% of the time (14 of 16 instances). Taking all instances of Content focus, high alienation occurs 64% of the time (10 of 16 instances). There is apparently something about school functioning, where if activity is more consistent than not, across the dimensions of personality, role, and organization, it can affect the affiliation of teachers with their work, themselves, and one another. Before going further into this finding, however, we shall take up the relations between alienation and schools which are incongruent. Just as we have segregated the congruent schools and assessed their characteristic high and low relative alienation depending on whether they stress content or students, we shall do the same for incongruent schools.

Using Teacher Role Should and Pupil Role, and omitting Teacher Role Do, nine schools are incongruent, that is two of the remaining four facets stress Content and two stress Students (Schools 3,5,7,9,14,15,16,17,18.) Of these, three display low alienation and three high alienation. Omitting Pupil Role, five schools are incongruent (schools 1,3,5,7,13). Three of these schools exhibit low alienation, two high alienation.

Although we noticed above that a consistent (though not universal) focus can describe whether or not a school exhibits relatively greater or lesser alienation, a lack of focus, in the sense that a school seems to be neither one thing or another, is unrelated to alienation. Some of these schools display greater than average alienation, while others display less than average alienation. In fact, of the 20 instances of inconsistent focus, 10 are accompanied by high alienation and 10 by low alienation. The content of school activity would seem to be more important than whether or not it is consistent. If the emphasis is upon people, alienation is low. If it is on things, alienation is high. If it is not consistently on one or another of these foci, alienation can be either high or low. If we think of a school as a congeries of behaviors, some of which are devoted to overarching goals, others to the expectations and activities of teachers, and still others to the individual biographies which enter the school with the persons who work there, we discover that the coordination of these behaviors is less important than the substance of these activities. If the substance of activity emphasizes the things to be learned rather than those who are learning, alienation will be high. But if the emphasis is on people, alienation will be low. If there is equivalent stress on people and things, alienation, as a characteristic of the whole school, will vary according to some other criterion. Concentrations in school activity affect the alienative tone of the school, diversity does not. This is probably because activity is institutionalized in the congruent school, that is, "integrated" throughout the important facets of organization, role, and personality in such a way as to influence its membership with regard to alienation.

In this sense, an integrated social system which has institutionalized the standards for those within it, can produce alienation, and in fact does so in our case, simply by being integrated along the lines of a Content focus. Alienation is built into such a system by its very existence, an existence which by other standards might be called "smooth running." As a result of it's absence, and just as a Content or Student focus can be institutionalized, so can alienation be institutionalized, insofar as it becomes a regular part of the structure of the school. Thus we do not want to think of schools where alienation occurs as anomic schools as well, that is, as schools where no consistent patterns of organized goal, role, expectation, and typical personality regularly exist. On the contrary, these are the only schools where consistent patterns do exist, and where these patterns focus upon content, we observe alienation.

In the schools which are inconsistent, and thus more open to the interpretation of social anomie, we observe no regular alienation. Alienation, a subjective disattachment from a social order, requires for its existence a certain kind of objective and structured normative order--one that is oriented to things to be learned. This is truly an example of the built-in social structure: Doing this according to the institutionalized standard leads to a subjective disattachment from the collectivity. We find no anomie when we find alienation. Conditions of the social structure are integrated and regular when alienation is present.

It is fairly apparent that a Content emphasis is highly instrumental in terms of the normative order of the larger society, which may explain the connection between alienation and such an emphasis. The professed and idealized values in the United States that teachers come to learn and apply (which can be very different from the practiced and enforced values), are not particularly in accord with the treatment of persons as receptacles of information for the young. (Whether most actual organizations are instrumentally oriented in practice is not a concern.) If they are practically instrumental, it would only mean in our terms that there would be comparably large amounts of alienation in those organizations, growing out of the disjuncture between societal value and societal activity. Being out of accord with societal values, content schools are probably more likely to engender alienation from themselves, everything else being equal.

There are probably additional reasons for the relation between alienation and content. A content emphasis, besides being out of phase with societal values, also restricts the interactive scope of a teacher's activity in both time and place. If a teacher is a member of a content social system which must necessarily treat persons as secondary to content, there are fewer relevant matters for him to take into account as he does his job. First, the teacher can relate only to information given and received, not to the subject giving and receiving. These unrealistic "standards" obviate adjusting and readjusting the teacher's evaluations to variations in the particular and even unique circumstances of his students. Second, these standards are applied in a "timeless" way, that is, they obviate taking into account the processes of individual change in favor of more mechanically applied formulae of change in a whole school of students. A series of scores are merely added up to arrive at a conclusion, a conclusion determined by some a priori criterion which ignores the special case and the variability of individual change in general. It is difficult in the standardized assessments of performance to locate and respond to individual instances of change, for they get lost in aggregations of scores and general criteria. In a way, a content emphasis loses the student among the things yet to be learned, and in the future assessments of whether they have in fact been learned in the past. Third, and on an interpersonal level, a content orientation reduces the interactions of students and teachers, as students and teachers. They now become conditions of performance, and only secondarily persons who interact and bring into play their biographies and prospects as persons.

On the other hand, a universalistic emphasis very probably reduces the chance among the recipients of rewards (pupils), that the unstandardized distribution of rewards is unfair, which is often a major concern of those in a particularistic social system. When rewards are unstandardized, it is difficult for the membership to isolate the causes and reasons for rewards being given to some but not to others. It is not that rewards are given unequally in either kind of system, but that the justification in role can be unclear in a particularistic system, and can lead to questions of equity. In such a circumstance the differential response of teacher to students could be considered capricious and unjust, the rules being so flexible that they disappear behind the continuous shift in relations between teacher and the individual students in his class. If this turned out to be the case, we would have to conclude that a universalistic content emphasis is likely to alienate more teachers than pupils, and a particularistic student emphasis would alienate more pupils than teachers. As givers and recipients of rewards, respectively, teachers seem to find it difficult to award them universalistically; pupils may find it more difficult to receive them particularistically.

Thus, we must generally modify our original notion that congruence and incongruence are primary determinants of alienation among teachers. Rather, the institutionalized context of the school, as content or student oriented, is regularly associated with the alienative state of its teachers. Our next step will be to locate and assess the separate and distinctive influence of organization, role, and personality upon alienation of the teacher.

Alienation by Facet of Demand

A principal conceptual thrust of our study employs an interactional rather than an additive model of the relations between organization, role, personality, and alienation. Alienation is conceived as a result of all three facets of demand operating together, facets which in their congruence and substance will amplify or diminish alienation beyond that which would occur if we were to separate and then add the independent contributions of facets of demand.

At the same time, however, we considered the independent contributions of each facet of demand, in order to discover whether one facet regularly seems more closely related to alienation and might be interpreted as "casual" in a loose sense. We shall present this analysis here.

Table 8 presents the correlations between each facet of demand and the six forms of alienation. It is necessary to use a correlational technique with the school as the unit of analysis rather than the individual because all measures refer directly to the particular school in which the teacher works, and alienation is hypothesized to be a that the unstandardized distribution of rewards is unfair, which is often a major concern of those in a particularistic social system. When rewards are unstandardized, it is difficult for the membership to isolate the causes and reasons for rewards being given to some but not to others. It is not that rewards are given unequally in either kind of system, but that the justification in role can be unclear in a particularistic system, and can lead to questions of equity. In such a circumstance the differential response of teacher to students could be considered capricious and unjust, the rules being so flexible that they disappear behind the continuous shift in relations between teacher and the individual students in his class. If this turned out to be the case, we would have to conclude that a universalistic content emphasis is likely to alienate more teachers than pupils, and a particularistic student emphasis would alienate more pupils than teachers. As givers and recipients of rewards, respectively, teachers seem to find it difficult to award them universalistically; pupils may find it more difficult to receive them particularistically.

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Table 7

Alienation and Incongruence Between Teacher Should and Teacher Do as Facets of Role

		School Alienation	
		High	Low
Kind of Contradiction in Role Focus	Should Students Do Content	4	2
	Should Content Do Content	2	3
	Should Students Do Students	1	1
	Should Content Do Students	1	4

consequence of working that school. To correlate perceptions of 535 individual teachers would of course blot out the actual effects accruing in a specific school context. In one school, for example, an emphasis on content might be associated with high alienation, while in another it might be associated with low alienation, so that averaging these would erase the possibility of assigning these properties to the schools in which they occur. A school N of 18 does not meet all the assumptions of product-moment correlation but we have sacrificed this technical restriction in order to clarify the relations between facets of demand and alienation as school rather than individual characteristics.

The most typical characteristic of Table 8 is the generally low correlation between types of demand taken individually and alienation, a finding we expected, on the assumption that they would have to interact before relatively large degrees of alienation could exist.

The highest positive correlation is between Authoritarian-Ritualistic pupil role and teacher Powerlessness (.606). The highest negative correlation is between an Individual Development school and Normlessness (-.598). Many of the correlations which fall between these are of a zero order, and from this we can suggest that many of the independent variables taken separately are not very closely related to alienation.

Nevertheless, there are differences between existing relationships which should be noted here. First, a single type of demand can be differentially related to distinct forms of alienation. A Three R's school, for example, is positively related to Meaninglessness (.296) and negatively related to Self-estrangement, (-.301). Different facets of demand are differentially related to a single form of alienation. Self-estrangement is positively related to an Occupational school (.410) and negatively related to an expectation by teachers that their role should be an Authoritarian-Ritualistic one (-.533). These distinctions, occur within a single facet of demand, such as between Occupational (.219) and Individual Development (-.538) schools on the Isolation dimension. Thus, we can begin by suggesting that alienation does not exhibit any overwhelming general correlation to particular independent variables taken separately, but that differences which do occur suggest we are addressing different kinds of phenomena with regard to both demand and alienation. Next we will discuss in more detail the relationships existing between role, organization, personality, and alienation.

Roles

Pupil Role - When pupils expect their teachers to be

Authoritarian-Ritualistic--universalistic, punitive, drill-oriented--the chances are good that teachers will feel powerless, unable to realize their goals in the classroom (.606). On the other hand, if pupils expect their teachers to be guidance oriented--particularistic in a case-by-case way--it is much less likely that teachers will feel powerless (-.403.) The differential demands of pupils thus engender comparable differences primarily in a teacher's assessment of his efficacy, but not his feeling of Isolation. Self-estrangement, and other kinds of alienation, where the relationships between type of pupil demand and alienation do not vary as greatly.

Pupils are, of course, directly in contact with their teachers each day, and as such probably represent constant reminders of success and failure in teaching practice. One might thus expect powerlessness, which is rather closely connected to the practice of teaching, to be the most volatile result of these confrontations. When pupils demand routine, the teacher suffers pangs of inefficacy. Perhaps the behavior of drill-oriented students may take the classroom out of the teacher's hands, and clash with the ideology of teaching, making the teacher no more than an automated purveyor of things to be learned. The teacher may see himself as a puppet of the lesson plan as a consequence of continuous interactional reminders that he is, so far as the pupils are concerned, just one more link in the transmission of content.

Teacher Role Should - The strongest relations here appear on the self-estrangement dimension. From a negative relation between these feelings and the assertion by teachers that they should be Authoritarian-Ritualistic (-.533), the trend gradually shifts toward a positive connection for Guidance role Should (.436). Generally alienation is negatively related to Authoritarian-Ritualistic teacher expectations, though this is most obvious on Self-estrangement. In the latter case, the teacher who believes the classroom should be governed by routine conduct is less likely to see a discrepancy between his actions and his values than the one who expects that teachers should consider and distinguish individual differences in pupils, and so he was likely to feel estranged from himself. In conjunction with the powerless emphasis among teachers whose students expect them to be Authoritarian-Ritualistic, we can suggest that those teachers who are powerless are also self-estranged here. That is, teachers who feel they should differentiate pupils and content are constrained by pupils not to do so, and thus may feel both powerless in the classroom and estranged from themselves.

This is in fact the case. Of those guidance-oriented teachers who are self-estranged, 83% are in schools where pupils are Authoritarian-Ritualistic. Inferring a sequence of activity here, we might say that teachers who expect a Guidance focus can be confronted with students who expect its antithesis, and this confrontation takes the form of Powerlessness, with regard to the classroom, and estrangement with regard to the self. If in the training of teachers there were careful preparation for real pupil expectations, not a utopian recitation of ideal classroom practices, there might be a reduction in Self-estrangement if not Powerlessness. Such training could also include methods for changing student expectations, if that were desirable, where ideals and practice would both be brought closer together.

The negative relation between alienation and authoritarian-ritualistic expectations supports these interpretations. Teachers in the latter kinds of schools have a more enthusiastic conception of their relation to work. Taking the various forms of alienation in general, we discover that a negative correlation is transformed into a positive one as we move from Authoritarian-Ritualism to Guidance expectations. There are two possible interpretations of this. First, perhaps there is something about the quality of guidance orientation and an alienated conception of work that are linked through some third factor such as antecedent biographical factors. If this is so, the school would be no more than an arena in which these ideas of guidance and alienation produced elsewhere, are expressed. Alternatively, the alienation may be a specific effect of coming into a school first holding guidance expectations, and then becoming alienated after finding that the school is more nearly Three R's and contains teachers and students who hold Authoritarian-Ritualistic expectations. In the latter case, the personnel and goals of the school itself would be influencing alienation in a casual way. In the former, conception of role and conception of attachment would overlap, both being a consequence of some factor(s) extraneous to the school environment.

We have two kinds of available data to illuminate this question--organizational style and years of teaching. If alienated guidance-oriented teachers happen to be located in schools which stress fundamentals and routines, such evidence would support the possibility that the schools themselves are producing the alienation. And if alienation increases with years at school, it may well be a result of an increasingly confirmed discrepancy between real and ideal practice. Neither of these pieces of evidence would rule out all other possibilities, since our data are cross-sectional and exclude behavior outside the school. But it would be informative to look into the matter briefly.

According to Table 9, many alienated guidance-oriented teachers are in schools that are either Three R's or Occupational, and among these, teacher alienation increases with years at the school.

These data suggest that school type will have an important effect on the alienation of the teacher. If he is guidance-oriented with regard to what a teacher should do, but finds himself in a school with content goals, it is likely that he will become self-estranged. And this will be increasingly the case the longer he remains at that school. It is apparently not so much that the teacher originally brings his alienation with him but that the activities of school tend to generate it once he begins work there. Alienation is a consequence of the interaction of school type and role expectation. The teacher's conception of his affiliation to work is a product of the relationship between expectation held and organizational constraint upon the practice and realization of those expectations. An incongruence between facets of demand will affect the educator in this instance. The evidence is especially strong when alienation accompanies antithetical demands between fundamentalist content-oriented schools as against guidance expectations, a pattern which will reappear as we move through our analysis.

Teacher Role Do - By comparison with findings already described, what other teachers do is not so directly related to alienation. Purported behaviors of other teachers, taken separately, seem to have less effect than purported prescriptions by pupils and teachers, for the relationships in Table 8 are lower, and vary less, for Teacher Do than for Teacher Should and Pupil role.

One reason for the difference between Teacher Should and Teacher Do with regard to the lesser influence relation of the latter is that the behaviors of teachers are independent of one another and so discrepancy in this area is less observable. What others do is not a demand in the way that what others idealize is a demand, because in the act of teaching one teacher does not confront another. In the schools we studied, where team teaching was rare the classroom behaviors of teachers were shut off from one another. They confront one another directly more often in discussion and meetings and in the systems of reward, where they can observe and respond first-hand to prescriptive rather than performative features of role. They are immediately involved with one another not in the activity of teaching itself, but in the activity of deciding what standards constitute good and bad teaching. Accordingly, alienation as a conception of one's relation to work and to other teachers is more likely to be positively and negatively related to those aspects of work in which one is immediately involved, that is, to our role "should." Simply put, we are suggesting that in the absence of behavioral interdependence, one set of socially enforced conceptions (role should) are more closely related to another set of

Table 8

Correlations Between Facets of Demand and Alienation

	Forms of Alienation					
Pupil Role	T	P	M	N	I	SE
AR	.307	.606	.062	.295	.102	.102
I	.275	.376	.197	.203	.096	.006
RG	-.091	.087	.045	-.075	.024	-.206
G	-.082	-.403	.183	-.115	.037	.003
Teacher Role (Should)						
AR	-.467	-.434	-.301	-.461	-.176	-.533
I	-.104	-.109	.107	-.127	.112	-.314
RG	-.174	-.127	-.303	-.107	-.277	.069
G	.254	.265	.131	.277	-.042	.436
Teacher Role (Do)						
AR	-.183	-.042	-.302	-.102	-.122	-.121
I	.017	.067	-.051	.039	.033	.014
RG	-.248	-.260	-.126	-.200	-.099	-.189
G	-.050	-.111	.108	-.091	-.062	-.048
Organization						
3R	.001	.019	.296	.056	.122	-.301
O	.323	.139	.232	.313	.219	.410
GL	.060	.105	-.136	-.049	-.059	.182
ID	-.478	-.329	-.555	-.598	-.538	-.415
Personality						
Concrete	.033	.010	.246	-.014	-.051	-.142
Abstract	-.182	-.213	-.150	-.171	-.196	-.092

socially responsive conceptions (alienation.) By default, repertories of expectation are more likely to have an effect on alienation. This is an unusual circumstance in all but those professional and semiprofessional occupations where the individual is alone and out of sight of colleagues when he comes into contact with his "clients." This would not hold in team teaching, surgical, or courtroom situations.

In summary, there are certain limited relationships between types of role demand and the forms of alienation. Authoritarian-Ritualistic pupil role tends to increase the Powerlessness and Self-estrangement of those who believe teachers should be guidance-oriented. What other teachers are thought to do seems much less influential than other aspects of role, probably because of the barriers to observation of others in the classroom. These limited relationships suggest that the idea of role alone cannot account for alienation as a school characteristic.

Organization

School goals vary considerably in their relations to alienation as shown in Table 7. In Three R's schools the connections are of a zero order except for Meaninglessness (.296) and Self-estrangement (-.301) and low even then. Alienation is positively related in Occupational schools, low and shifting in Group Locomotion ones, and consistently negative in Individual Development schools. The greatest is between the presence of alienation in Occupational schools and the absence of it in Individual Development schools.

To understand these school effects we should first note a general underlying truth in the issue of constraint versus freedom. It is sometimes mistakenly argued that any bureaucracy is "bad," any organization bureaucratic, and hence any organization bad. If we take the school as organization, however, we must note that some kinds of schools are positively related to alienation, others negatively related, and thus, given that all schools exhibit bureaucracy, not all bureaucracy is bad (assuming that alienation is bad, but even this is not always justified). The reason that bureaucracy is bad, so the argument goes, is because bureaucracy constrains its members in the sense that bureaucracy is rule-governed. The point here is that, given the consistently negative relation between the Individual Development organization and alienation, and accepting the idea that all bureaucracies are rule-governed, we must question the assumption that all rule-governed people will be constrained in an alienative way. Apparently, the rules of Individual Development schools, which focus upon the student and his own particular capacities and interests, free the teacher to the extent that he conceives his work and himself as integrated.

The rule that the individual student must first be taken into account is less constraining than the rule that content must first be taken into account. This is all the more convincing when we realize that an Individual Development school requires the teacher to adapt his behavior to a wide variety of students and interests, while in a Three R's school he need only learn and impose a single set of materials. The latter circumstance "frees" the teacher of the difficult and relatively more uncertain tasks involved in responding separately and differentially to his pupils, but it does not "free" him from alienation. Bureaucracy is not inevitably related to alienation; the existence of rules doesn't generate disaffection, but the kind and quality of those rules do. It is essential that we think of modern life, or any kind of life for that matter, not as a comparison of the existence of rules against the absence of rules, but rather as a comparison of rules that engender freedom against rules that do not.

With specific regard to the difference in Table 7 between the positive connection for Occupational schools and alienation (.323 for total alienation), and the negative connection between Individual Development Schools and alienation (-.478 for total alienation), we can suggest that this difference is related to their "industrial" as opposed to "process" character, respectively.[9] In the first case, the student is truly conceived to be a "product" in the industrial sense, for he is treated while at school as an object to be consumed by the economic sector of society. Of all schools, it is the one which most stresses curriculum, not for its own sake, as in Three R's, but as a waystop on the path to specialized economic productivity. Preparation for a career, or for the higher education that is preparation for a career, is the institutionalized parameter of such a school, with the result that the teacher is much like the factory worker, specialized and minute. He contributes his one-tenth or one-fiftieth of the final product, but without ever seeing the final product, and without varying the standard procedures by which he makes his contribution. Such a school takes on all of the features of the assembly line.

Individual Development schools, on the other hand, are not organized around products for the sightless distant future. Rather, the conception of student development and change is such that changes from one day to the next can be conceived as accomplishments (and failures) in their own right. The teacher can have something directly to do with this goal, the realization of which can be observed. The teacher can also observe failure, and probably does. But it is interesting that alienation is probably a result not of a series of failures, or of failure sprinkled among success, but rather of the structural opportunity to participate at all. We are reminded here of our distinction between dissatisfaction and alienation, the one being a functionally specific attribute and the other a very general conception. In these terms, it could well be that a teacher in an Individual Development school could be dissatisfied with his failures without ever becoming alienated. The structure of organization in the Individual Development school provides the opportunity to observe and participate in the end points of school processes, but in the Occupational case all the teacher can do is make some finite and standard attempt which ultimately will come to be realized or not, entirely outside his own purvies. Assuming that failure too is observed by those in Individual Development schools, alienation does not occur to the degree that it does in Occupational schools, where observations of failure would be unavailable. Although the latter give many tests these are treated as "predictors" of student performance and thus not self evident failures in their own right. The socially prescribed "responsibility" in such cases, is less the teachers than it is the capacity and previous training of the student, in relation to the content to be learned. We can speculate, therefore, that alienation is not so much a response to failure as it is a response to student as product, a treatment which separates the teacher from the institutionalized goal of his own activities.

The one exception to these general findings concerning alienation and organization is the negative correlation between Three R's and Self-estrangement (-.301). This exception is probably due to the distinctive feature of Self-estrangement compared to other forms of alienation: It is the only kind in which the self is called into question and then devalued. Powerlessness, Meaninglessness, Normlessness and Isolation all permit a continued unity of the self, being discrepancies between self and situation. In Self-estrangement, on the other hand, the self is internally at odds and held accountable for things. According to our data, Self-estrangement is not a characteristic feature of Three R's schools, that is, this type of school is not organized in such a way as to engender a split between parts of the self. At considerable risk, but worth mentioning because it is related to other data and interpretations, we might speculate that this is a consequence of the unquestioned and unvarying content orientation of such a school, an orientation which inhibits self-assessment. In a Three R's school, the teacher seldom has to account for his behavior except when it might be conditioned by external events, a factor that would lead to other forms of alienation. In all other kinds of schools, the teacher is required to differentiate between either Content or Students, and must rely on his own perceptions and conceptions to a much greater degree than the teacher in a Three R's school. He must become the center of his own assessment of the classroom, and thus *ceterus paribus*, take the blame once in a while. But this first step toward self-estrangement need never occur in the Three R's case. Combining our comments on Individual Development and Three R's schools, self-estrangement is favorably resolved in the one and never comes up in the other. The first is organized so as to create and then to settle the issue, the second to obviate it.

In summary, Occupational schools are most likely to be alienative, Individual Development schools least likely to be alienative. The alienative characteristics of Three R's and Group Locomotion schools are not so clear--correlations are low and mixed. Taking the two clear cases, alienation again occurs depending upon the focus of the school. If that focus is on content, the chances are greater that alienation will exist than if that focus is on students. We have reasoned that this difference is not a result of the rules of bureaucratic organization in the one case and freedom from bureaucratic rules in the other, but rather because the one rule represents a school analogy to the industrial factory, the second to the practice of a craft. In these circumstances the teacher is the equivalent of either a technological operator or a semiprofessional, respectively, with all the opportunities for conduct and attachment that such positions entail.

Personality

Personality tends to depress alienation, especially abstract personality, but the tendency is very slight, there being little relation between either concrete or abstract conceptual style and alienation. Type of personality makes the greatest difference in Meaninglessness, where a Concrete personality is correlated .246 and an Abstract one -.150. We should note here that we have only two types of personality as a result of the empirical fact that teacher scores on the measure were not very widely dispersed, and thus personality does not have the technical opportunity to vary in the ways role and organization do. But it should be added here that alienation, being statistically unrelated to personality, might therefore be said to be truly independent of personality, contrary to the literature which suggests that we carry our alienation around with us in much the same way we contain our personalities.[10] This is all the more interesting considering that we are using a social psychological definition of alienation, which is more closely related to personality than other kinds.

It remains quite possible that personality is important when combined with other facets of demand, however, and we shall take this up in a later section of our report.

Role, Organization and the Forms of Alienation

One task remains with regard to the independent 11 contributions of role, and organization taken separately. This is to array the relations between role, organization, personality, and alienation in such a way as to be able to more easily compare these separate contributions, and to see if they are consistent across the various forms of alienation. This can be accomplished by graphing the correlations in Table 8. Figure 1 does so for total alienation.

According to Figure 1, there is no steady diminution of school alienation across all facets of demand as we move from Type I (Authoritarian-Ritualistic role Three R's School) through Type IV (Guidance role Individual Development school). The relationships in Figure 1 are curvilinear. Second, we can see that role and organization are differentially related to school alienation as we move from Type I through Type IV. Type I Role *Should* and Role *Do* both begin low, rise somewhat in Type II (Instrumental), drop in Type III (Ritualistic-Gratification), and then rise again to their greatest positive connection to alienation in Type IV (Guidance). On the other hand, in Type I organizations, (Three R's) alienation is at about a zero-order level, then it rises in Occupational schools, after which it steadily decreases until there is a fairly strong negative correlation in Individual Development schools. Third, Pupil role begins high in total alienation, then decreases and flattens out at about a zero order. Thus, role *should* and *do* behave similarly to one another in that they rise and fall in this same way from one type to the next, and are accompanied by about the same degrees of alienation as they do so; organization reaches its highest alienative point in Occupational schools, then steadily drops off; pupil role is most alienative when it is Authoritarian-Ritualistic and diminishes to its lowest point in schools where it is Ritualistic-Gratificatory. The various components of demand, in other words, vary in their effects on alienation, which explains the finding that any single school tends to display a low proportion of absolute alienation among its teachers. We have discovered empirically that most schools are mixed rather than consistent. A school organization is often guidance oriented, when pupil role is Authoritarian-Ritualistic, and role *should* is instrumental, for example. Since schools exhibit demands which are mixed in type, and since the alienative effects of a particular type are also mixed across facets of demand, a concerted or singular effect in a school is "coincidental." It is an effect which would have to come together out of getting the most powerful alienation-inducing mix in the way factors come together according to a normal curve. Further, even in congruent schools, where most facets of demand are either content or student, these facets have differential alienative power. In Type IV, for example,

Figure 1. Total Alienation and Type of Role and Organization

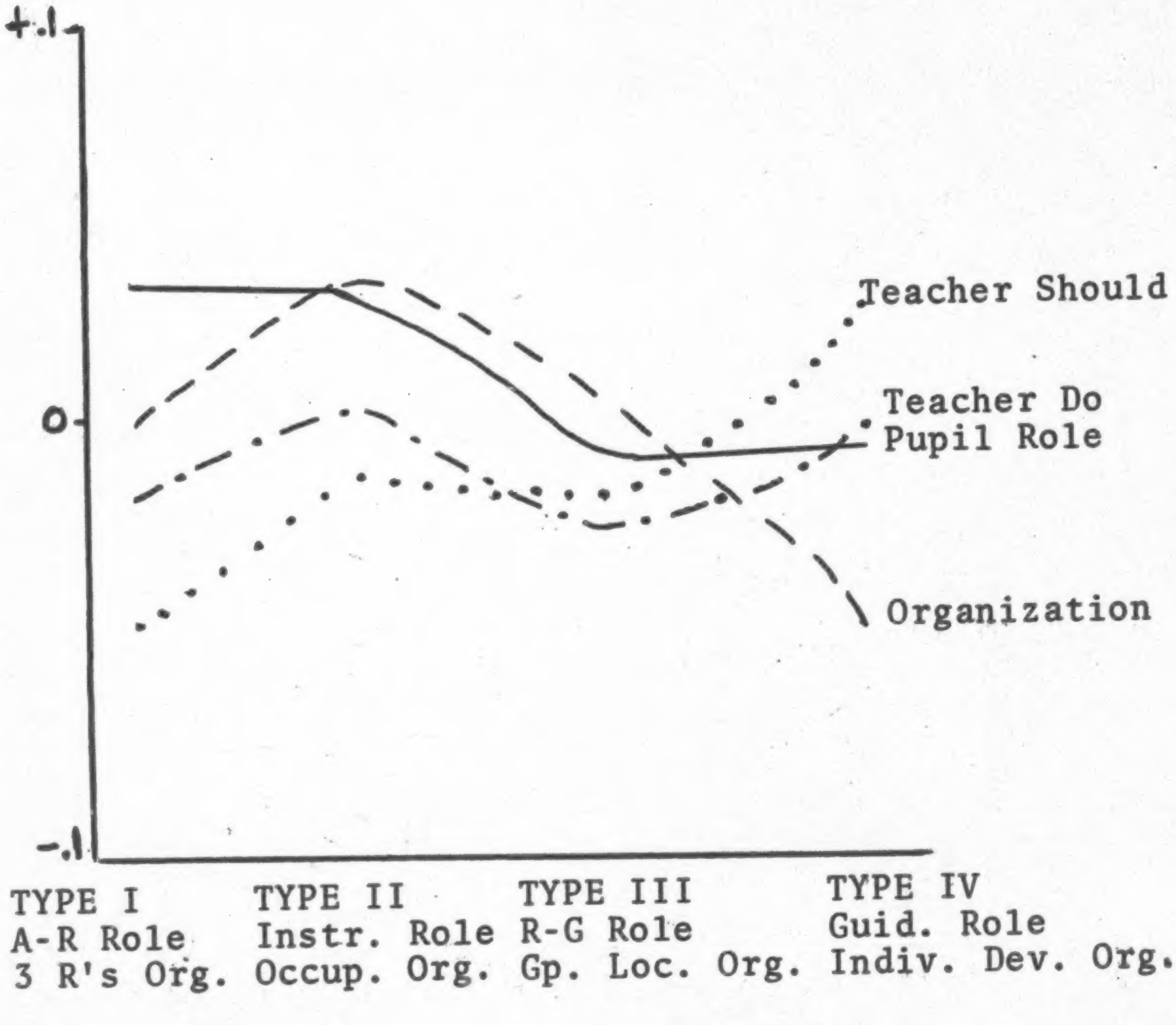


Figure 2. Powerlessness and Type of Role and Organization

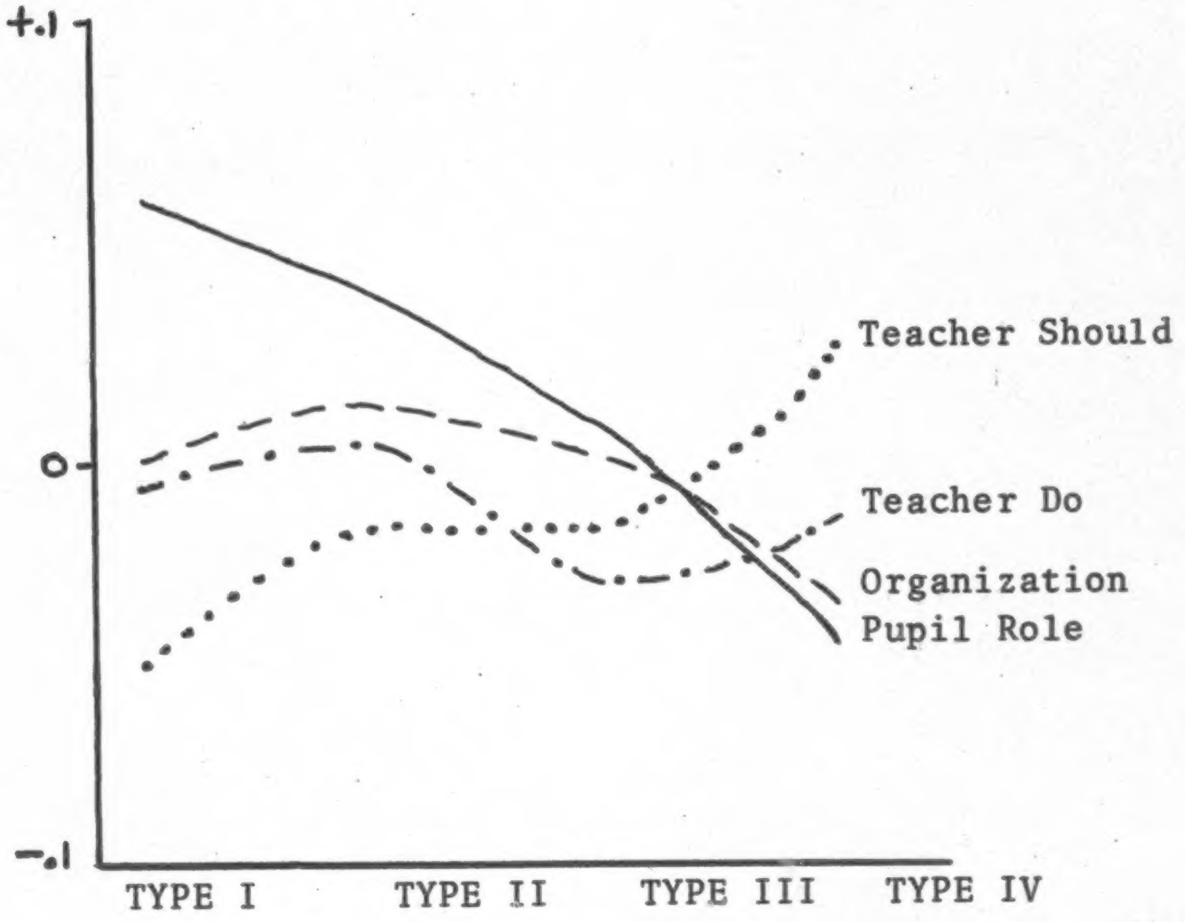


Figure 3. Meaninglessness and Type of Role and Organization

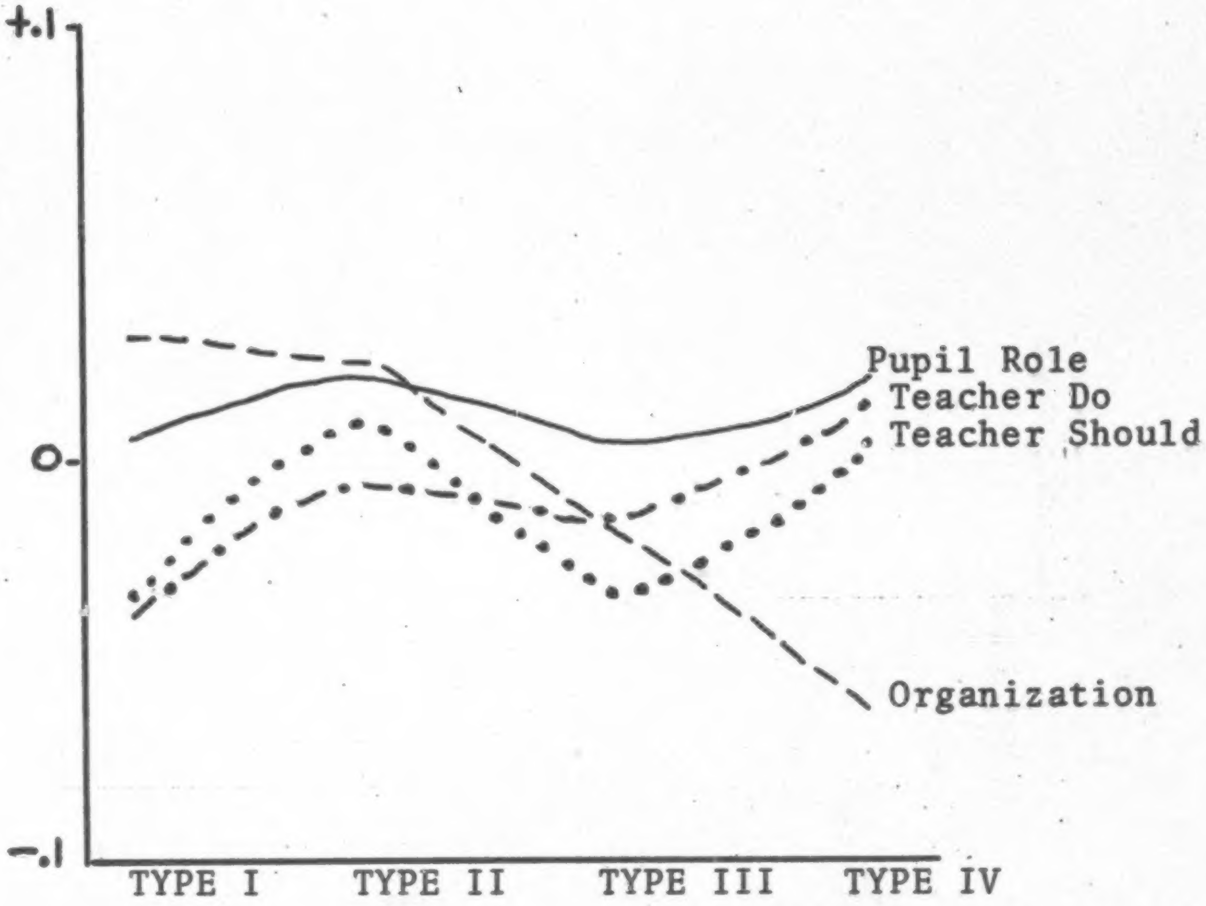


Figure 4. Normlessness and Type of Role and Organization

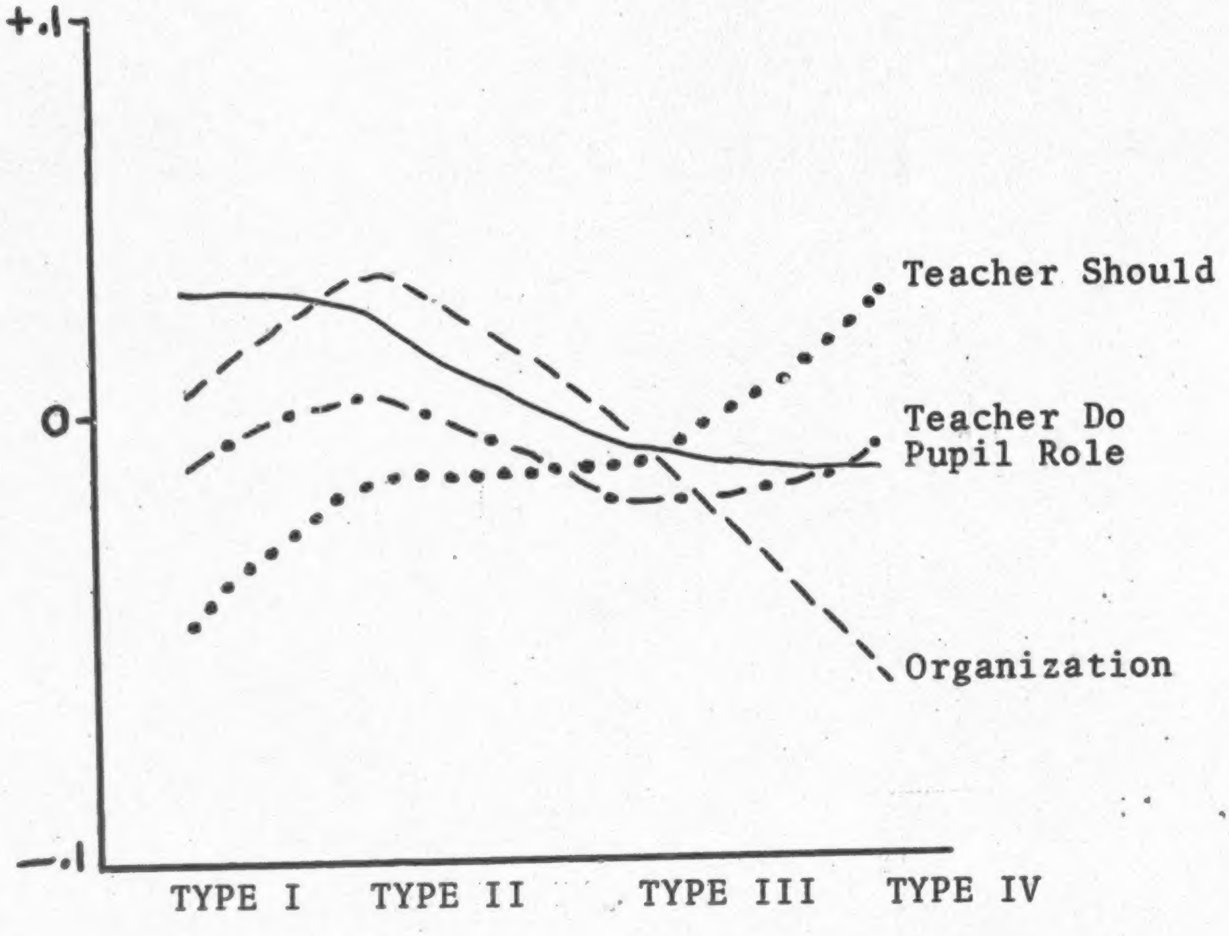


Figure 5. Isolation and Type of Role and Organization

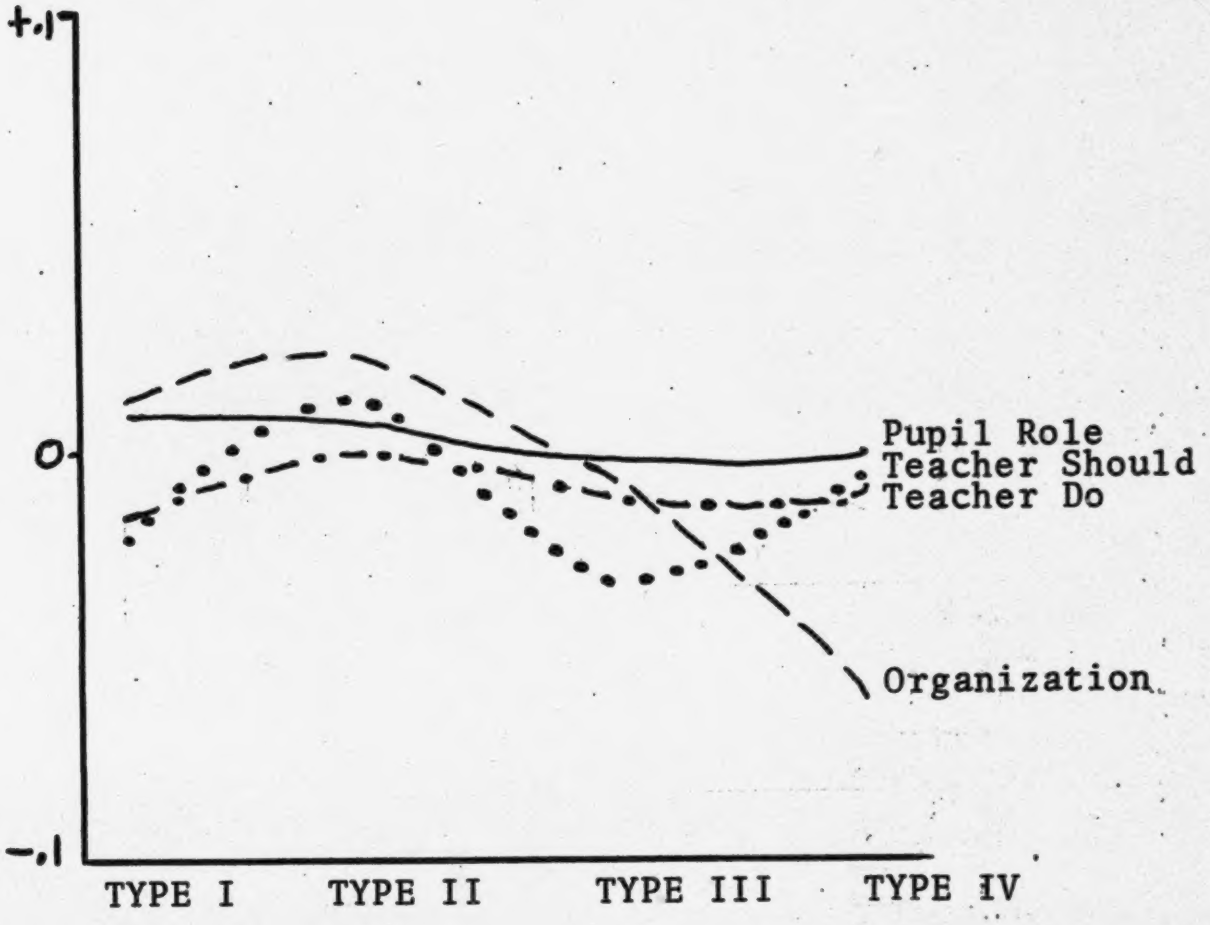
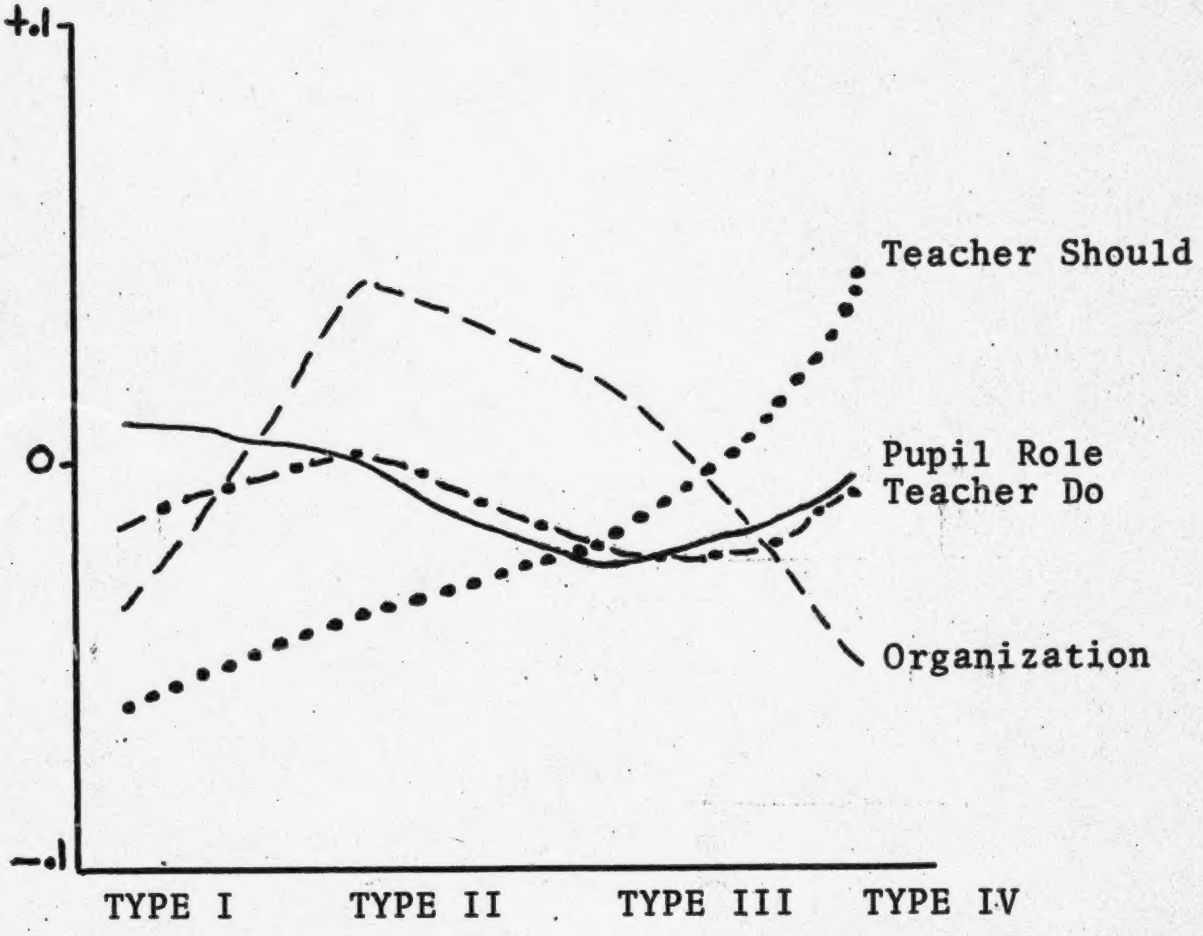


Figure 6. Self-Estrangement and Type of Role and Organization



organization tends to lower the alienated tone of the school, but role should tends to increase it. Schools are in fact mixed in the demands they make upon teachers, and the effects of these demands are also mixed, with the result that the effect of one facet of demand can be cancelled out by the effect of another.

From Figure 1, we can predict which kinds of mix would be most likely to produce high and low alienation, simply by locating the points at which alienation is highest and lowest and then joining them together. If pupil role were Authoritarian-Ritualistic, role should and do were Guidance, and Organization Occupational, alienation in the school would be very high. Conversely, alienation will be lowest when pupil role is Ritualistic-Gratificatory, role should Authoritarian-Ritualistic, role do Ritualistic-Gratificatory, and organization Individual Development. To explain further, alienation will be highest when teachers expect and act to depress moralistic values and take their classroom cues from the differentiated status and purposes of their students, except when pupils expect them to apply universalistic moral and intellectual standards, and when the goal of the school is to produce students with specialized intellectual capacities. Alienation will be lowest when pupils expect teachers to act universalistically in the moral sphere and individually in the intellectual one, and when teachers act in accord with these expectations--where teachers believe they should be universalistic in both, and where the general school goal is to permit individual students to isolate and realize their own goals. In high alienation schools, the teacher focusses on the student in his role formulation and behavior, while his pupils and the organization--his audience and milieu--stress content. If teachers see their role as Guidance, if pupils see their teachers as Authoritarian-Ritualistic, and if the school is organized around Occupational specialization, teacher alienation will be high.

Role, Demands and Alienation

Powerlessness - Figure 2 exhibits a relation between alienation and both components of teacher role that is similar to that for total alienation. The effect of Pupil role is much more pronounced and linear, however, running from high alienation on Authoritarian-Ritualism to low alienation on Guidance. Organization is unrelated except for a slight drop in Individual Development schools.

Powerlessness is a belief that one's own behavior cannot affect the outcomes he seeks. But it does not take into account the wish to determine those outcomes, and thus can include both those who are indifferent to the circumstances as well as those who care about it. If pupils expect teachers to be Authoriatarian-Ritualistic, they will act to constrain the teacher by comparison with an expectation that he play a guidance role, since the former permits the teacher less leeway in adapting himself and the classroom activity to varieties of circumstances and pupils. Teacher efficacy here, from his own point of view, would be less in the hands of the teacher and more in the hands of general moral and intellectual standards, of which he is just one link in the "transmission belt." Furthermore, the teacher is most often in direct contact with his students, and so those students would be likely to exert the most influence on his sense of control. The classroom being the most significant arena of efficacy is probably also the most significant focus of the conjunction between purpose and outcome.

Meaninglessness - According to Figure 3, variation in Meaninglessness by type of role demand is less than for any other form of alienation. Nor is there a very strong overall connection between role demand and Meaninglessness, correlations being low. The changes that do occur are similar to those for total alienation. Meaninglessness is very probably the most pernicious form of alienation, since it does not permit any interpretation of events at all, and so those who display it are probably unable to remain members of an organization. Being a in vegetable condition, it is hard to conceive of such a person functioning well enough to survive without being noticed and then removed from his occupational setting, especially if he is a teacher. Nevertheless, Individual Development schools continue to exert their very negative effect on alienation, in this case to a -.555 degree, an effect that consistently appears throughout the special forms of alienation.

Normlessness - Figure 4 suggests that in Normlessness all facets of demand behave as they have for other kinds of alienation. Occupational schools are the most alienative, and Individual Development schools the least. Teacher Should tends to work in a direction opposite that of organization, for it tends to be least alienative when demand is Authoritarian-Ritualistic, and most alienative when it is Guidance. Teacher Do again shows the same curve as Teacher Should, except that it varies less. Pupil role continues to show a slight positive relation that diminishes on through Type IV.

These consistencies suggest that, so far as role and organization are concerned, the various forms of alienation are not so different from one another. The curves are about the same for each type, though they are not of course identical. The meanings to the individual may vary, and so might the effects of such meaning in class, school and community. We are not making an independent test of the substance and results of alienation, but whether or not different kinds of alienation tend to be responsive to role and organization in the same ways. Powerlessness may be a distinct personal condition (we have no way of deciding whether it is or not), but the powerless man is more likely to exist in an Occupational school and when he believes he should take on a Guidance role, as is a Normless man, a Self-estranged man, and so forth. This finding does, of course, eliminate many applied problems which would exist if the forms of alienation were dispersed, but being concentrated, we need only change schools in these restricted ways. If each form of alienation exhibits a different congeries of demand, the chances would be all the greater that a reduction in one kind of alienation would increase another form.

Normlessness is the expectation that socially unapproved behaviors are most efficient in attaining outcomes. It is related to Powerlessness in the sense that control is the issue for the person. Rather than feeling unable to control events at all, however, Normlessness is a state in which control can be exercised but only deviantly, (It would be very important to discover whether normless persons act on this conception.) And again we discover that an Authoritarian-Ritualistic should is associated with an absence of alienation, in this case Normlessness, while a Guidance should is associated with presence of alienation. Moreover, role and organization are again at odds with one another, the latter tending to work in an opposite direction.

These findings are probably connected to role should as a set of ideal practices expressing the individual's hopeful view, perhaps reenforced by the ideology of teaching learned in college and elsewhere. Here the teacher doesn't have to take the way things actually are into account, but might rely instead on some ideal version of the classroom that serves as a standard for assessing the way things are. Now it is generally the case that actual, on-going social systems are never perfectly integrated, there being a certain amount of slippage between chart and behavior, goal and performance, ideal standards and actual practice. While we have no direct measure of these discrepancies in schools, there is no reason to assume that schools are very different in this respect than institutions and organizations where they have regularly been discovered. It may be that a Guidance role is the most difficult one to practice, by comparison with Authoritarian-Ritualism and the other types of roles, because it requires a vast repertory of teacher behavior and response: a set of classroom materials that must be equally broad and distinctive; a set of very cooperative students; and a rich reserve of organizationally provided administrative staff and opportunity. The guidance ideal, in other words, may be the most difficult to approximate. Teachers who hold it may become the most alienated, since the discrepancy between ideal and real is greatest in this role.

Indirect support for this interpretation is the evidence provided by the antithetical performance of Individual Development organization, which is the school counterpart of the Guidance role. Now we discover that the Individual Development school consistently decreases the alienation by comparison with other kinds of schools. Such a school is a practice, rather than a personal ideal, and so the guidance-oriented teachers would more closely approximate their ideal standards in these kinds of schools, and their kind of organization is less likely to confront teachers with other orientations. Universalistic standards of classroom achievement would be absent in these schools and thus the teacher who abides by some other set of practices would feel less constrained in doing so. By its very nature, standard "measures" for assessing the goals of Individual Development schools are less easily developed and less likely to be applied, with the result that day-to-day confrontations between Teacher Should and school practices are less in evidence. Thus, as a facet of demand, these schools are likely to correspond with certain teacher ideologies, and not confront those who maintain some other ideology with a discrepancy. As a result, alienation will be lower in these kinds of schools.

Isolation - In Figure 5, pupil role has almost no effect across types of demand. The influence of other aspects of role doesn't have much more effect. The only important feature is once more the minimizing effect of an Individual Development school. With this one exception, demand has little to do with either the extent of or variation in Isolation, which is the devaluation of the goals of society and of the school. This is not to say that there is no isolation among the teachers in our sample, for Table 2 suggests that there are some 122 educators who are more than moderately isolated. It is just that isolation is not correlated with any one facet and type when they are taken separately. It is quite possible, for example, that isolation may be accounted for by the interaction of facet and type in schools where it exists, a possibility that would not appear in a simple correlation. We shall address this possibility when we discuss the interactive effects of the several types of demand.

Self-estrangement - According to Figure 6, the same pattern emerges with regard to the form of alienation that includes a negative comparison between a self-image arising out of a negative comparison between actual behavior and ideal standards. The pattern is exaggerated, however, in that the rising difference in Teacher Should between Type I and Type IV is greater than usual and linear, while a similar large drop occurs between Occupational and Individual Development schools.

In summary, then, with regard to the independent relationships between demand and the forms of alienation, we discover a mixed but patterned effect. Teacher should and organization are the most volatile facets of demand, and they tend to work against one another. For teacher should, a Content focus (Types I and II) tends to lower total alienation, Normlessness, Powerlessness, and Self-estrangement, and a Student focus (Types III and IV) tends to increase these froms of alienation. For Meaninglessness and Isolation, Types I and III tend to lower alienation, Types II and IV increase it. With regard to Organization, a Type II or Occupational school, also a Content focus, produces the greatest alienation in all its forms except for Meaninglessness. A Three R's school tends to be unrelated to either high or low alienation, while a Type IV school (Student focus) will considerably lessen the alienation in every case. Pupil role and teacher do usually fall between teacher should and organization in their relation to alienation.

Thus, in any school that is congruent on Type IV, teacher should and organization would tend to work against one another, the one increasing and the other decreasing the alienative tone of that school. We discovered in Tables 3 and 6 that most schools are mixed and exhibit small amounts of alienation in absolute terms. One apparent reason for this is that teacher should and organization operate as they do. The facets of demand have different effects within the same type.

In any school congruent on Type III (Ritualistic-Gratification/Group Locomotion), the relations between teacher should and organization would be more consistent with one another at the zero order level, and would probably result in some alienated schools and some unalienated schools. In Type II schools (Instrumental role/Occupational organization), the alienative organizational relation is at its peak, but teacher should is around the zero order level. It would thus depend here upon the relative power of organization's effect in any school. Finally, with regard to a congruent Type I school, should and organization reverse their positions by contrast with Type IV, with should depressing alienation and organization around the zero order.

With only 18 schools tested, we do not have means for a qualified empirical test of these theoretical possibilities, there being some 20 possible permutations of organization and should type. But we can note that there are two schools (3, 18) which happen to be Type IV should and Type II organization, and in both of these schools alienation is high in all its forms. Furthermore, one school (10) is Type IV organization and Type I should, and alienation is low in all forms. Certainly this provides no sure test, but in all three cases the combination of role should and organization actually results in what we would expect from an inspection of the independent contribution of demand to alienation. These schools are mixed in such a way as to increase or decrease the teacher alienation they contain. What happens empirically in schools where these demands work in opposite directions must await our analysis of the relative power of these different facets of demand. They may not actually cancel one another out if one type of demand overrides the other. It is quite possible of course that our facet of demand is more potent than the other.

One other matter should be taken up here, namely whether alienation as we have defined it is unidimensional or not. We began with five forms of alienation, on the chance that those who are alienated in one way may not be alienated in another, and we can note now that there are considerable differences in the way our facets of demand--personality, pupil role, teacher should, teacher do, and organization--are related to alienation within a particular form. An Authoritarian-Ritualistic pupil role, for example is correlated .606 with Powerlessness, while an Authoritarian-Ritualistic Teacher should role is correlated -.434 with Powerlessness. Furthermore, a Three R's school, comparable in type to those roles, seems unrelated to Powerlessness (.019). That is, the same kind of alienation is differentially responsive to different facets of demand.

Nevertheless, a particular Type (I,II, III or IV) and facet (organization, role, personality) tends to exert the same effect across the separate forms of alienation. Individual Development schools lessen all forms of alienation, Guidance (should) schools increase all forms of alienation, Instrumental role do is unrelated to all forms of alienation, and so forth. If we think for a moment of these contexts as causes, we can say that with a few exceptions that all forms of alienation are caused in about the same ways, but that those ways are composed of rather special admixtures of personality role, and organization. We should be careful not to interpret this to mean that all forms of alienation will have the same effects, since we have not studied the effects. Nor can we assert that the individual sensations of all forms of alienation are the same. We have no evidence on this either. We know that a given type of demand will be associated with a given degree of alienation in general, regardless of the form of that alienation. We do not know if the various forms of alienation will feed back upon the school and staff in the same ways, or if the yes responses of the different forms of alienated mean the same.

Alienation and Interaction Between Facets of Demand

With the exception of our discovery that a Content focus is alienative, we have been concerned on previous pages with the distinctive and separate effects of single facets of demand. We shall now inspect the way all facets of demand operate together, in order to test the interaction of these facets in producing alienation. The LSQ program (see Analysis) was used to generate the combined effects of all facets of demand. At the same time, using a covariance technique, shifts in combination (from Content to Student focus) generated alienation scores which were contrasted for significant differences. The different ways that shifts in combination (multiinteraction possibilities) affected alienation scores is summarized in Table 10.

The reader should be reminded that every school has a score on each facet of demand (Scores for Authoritarian-Ritualistic, Ritualistic-Gratificatory, Instrumental, and Guidance) even though, for other kinds of analyses, we have chosen a dominant focus for each school. Table 10 presents the increase, decrease, or no change, in alienation as scores on all the separate facets of demand go up or down, regardless of the dominant focus. Even when a school has been classified as 3R on the organization dimension, for example, we are able here to use the data on its Occupational, Group Locomotion, and Individual Development scores, as we have on the role and personality dimensions. What we want to know is whether concomitant variations in demand precipitate concomitant variations in alienation, and to do so we use all data for every school. In this way we can more fully describe the connections between variables and discern increments of effect which are not always apparent when we limit ourselves to single characteristics.

Three types of alienation effects are considered in Table 10: increase, decrease and no change. If the compared variations in demand produce an effect which reveals a significant difference in alienation then we report a (+, 0, or —) depending on the direction of the alienation shift. If no significant increase or decrease in alienation occurs we report a no change (0).

Two kinds of information are contained in Table 10. First, one can locate the interactional effect of demand upon alienation. In the upper left-hand cell, for example, concomitant joint increases in 3R's organization, Authoritarian-Ritualistic role, and Concrete personality result in no appreciable increase or decrease in alienation. In the upper right-hand cell, however, concomitant increases in 3R's organization, Guidance and Abstract personality do lead to a significant increase in alienation. Or, in the lower left-hand cell we can observe that concomitant increases in Individual Development organization, Authoritarian-Ritualistic and Concreteness result in decreased alienation. This kind of information gives us an idea of the empirical relations

Table 9

Percent Alienated Guidance-Oriented Teachers, by School Type and Years at School

	School Type					Years at School		
	Three R's	Occup.	Gp. Loc.	Ind. D.	Total	Greater	Fewer	Total
Alienated Guidance-Oriented Teachers	40	37	10	13	100	62	38	100
Unalienated Guidance-Oriented Teachers	12	20	31	37	100	41	59	100

between combined facets of demand and alienation, which we will return to below in a discussion of focused and unfocussed combinations.

The second kind of information in Table 10 is the relative contributions of different facets of demand to alienation. This requires making an inference from reading across rows and down columns for consistency in effect by the independent variable. Reading down the Instrumental role column, for example, we note that alienation increases (+) in every case but one--3R's organization, concrete personality--regardless of organization or personality type. With that one exception, alienation increases as Instrumental role increases and we might say, therefore, that it makes an overriding contribution to alienation. This information helps to interprete the various separate correlations between facets of demand and alienation in Table 8, and Figures 1-6, because we can observe that while Instrumental Role Should and Do hover around the zero order when taken separately, when joined with other facets of demand in actual school circumstances Instrumental role exerts a very powerful influence. We noted, with regard to correlation, for example, that in an Individual Development school alienation is generally low, but we do not know what will happen when this tendency is combined with other facets of demand En Situ. Now we see that the nonalienative tone of such a school continues to operate except when joined with Instrumental Role. An Instrumental Role thus seems to dominate all other facets of demand and to create alienation even when other facets, taken separately operate to diminish alienation.

Other role types do not have such pervasive consequences for alienation. With the exception of Instrumental Role, the Individual Development type of organization dominates other facets of demand. Such a school tends to decrease alienation regardless of role or personality. Other types of organization do not display these consistent patterns. However, although Table 8 exhibits a pattern of alienation in Occupational schools when their effects are taken in isolation from other facets of demand, we can observe by reading across the appropriate row in Table 10 that this tendency does not overwhelm the other facets of demand in actual cases. When occupation rises, no change occurs if role is Authoritarian-Ritualistic and personality Concrete, or if role is Guidance and personality Concrete. When Occupational organization is combined with R-G role and Abstract personality, there is a decrease in alienation, a finding that runs counter to what would be expected if only the product moment correlation were taken into account. A strong relative contribution by personality can be observed when alienation increases and decreases within a particular juncture of role and organization, a lesser contribution where an increase and decrease is joined with no change in such a juncture. Personality thus exhibits a strong influence in only one place, at the point where Group Locomotion organization and Ritualistic-Gratificatory role come together. Here alienation increases, and then decreases as Abstract personality increases. Role and organization which are congruent in their student focus here, are controlled in this case by personality.

Results are somewhat scattered with regard to the less potent influences of personality - shifts between no change and either increase or decrease. No influence is exerted on Individual Development organization and only once does personality have even a moderate effect on Instrumental Role. For the most part, these types of demand operate whatever the personality. Once beyond these dominant types of demand, however, we can note the tendency that when personality does have an influence it is to increase alienation rather than to decrease it in every case but one, where it is an increment in Abstract personality that usually makes for the increase in alienation. If organization is 3R's, alienation increases for Abstract personality when role is either instrumental or Guidance. When organization is Occupational, alienation increases for Abstract personality if role is either Authoritarian-Ritualistic or Guidance. If organization is Group Locomotion and role is Guidance, the Concrete Personality has the increasing effect on alienation. We can say that personality operates primarily to increase alienation, and that this is more often true when personality is Abstract rather than Concrete.

Personality is especially resonant in Guidance role situations, where alienation increases three out of four times. Perhaps the Guidance role, stressing as it does the great variation among individual students, fails to mediate between situation and teacher as most roles do, and so opens this realm of behavior to the operation of personality. In each of these alienative cases we observe that personality type is incongruent with the focus of organization and role, and this may explain why the operation of personality tends to increase alienation. When organization and role focus on the content but the personality focuses students, alienation increases, as it does when these foci are reversed. Except for Individual Development, personality is volatile and a major alienative factor whenever Guidance is concerned. We can speculate that a Guidance role demand being attuned to great ranges of student behavior and teacher response necessarily devolves upon and casts up the demands of teacher personality, with the result that any dissonance between personality and organization will decrease the teacher's sense of unity with his work. This is another way of suggesting that a guidance role is no role in the sense that it does not mediate between the organization and the personality. On these grounds one can expect a moderate increase in alienation when role is Guidance and when personality is incongruent with that role or with organization.

The Influence of Focus

Table 10 also delineates more precisely the alienative effects of content vs student focus. The upper left-hand quadrant of Table 10, excluding Abstract personality cells, are combinations of Content focus. The lower right quadrant, excluding Concrete Personality cells, are combinations of Student focus. The two remaining quadrants are mixed combinations.

Beginning with Content focus, we note that a 3R's, Authoritarian-Ritualistic, and Concrete increment is not accompanied by any significant change in alienation. The latter does not rise as pure Type I Content rises. It is only when some Type II elements are involved, in the form of Occupational, or Instrumental demand, that we observe the increase in alienation that regularly occurs in actual schools which focus on Content. In a totally "pure" Type I school, that is, in a school in which no element of personality is Abstract, no element of role or organization anything but Authoritarian-Ritualistic or 3R's, we would expect no alienation. No such schools exist in our population and are unlikely to occur anywhere. But the pragmatic point of this finding is that Type I influences in the school, whether they be great or small, have little or no bearing on teacher alienation in that school. They only affect alienation when they are combined with other influences. We can say that both teacher behavior and fundamentalist school goals do not affect alienation one way or the other. In fact, in three of the four Content focus combinations we discover that an increase in these combinations is unaccompanied by a change in alienation. Neither a 3R's - Authoritarian-Ritualistic Content combination, nor 3R's - Instrumental Content, nor Occupational - Authoritarian-Ritualistic Content, has any effect on alienation. In none of these pure combinations of demand does teacher alienation occur.

Only in a pure Content focus Type II combination, of Occupational - Instrumental and Concrete set of demands does alienation increase. Consequently when we find an actual school which is jointly Type I and Type II, we can infer that the Type II demand produces the alienation. According to Table 3, it is empirically the case that we are without a fully congruent Type I school, and thus the absence of alienation as a distinctive and exhaustive Type I influence does not occur in any one school. But we note that the Type I aspects of demand present in these schools are not causing the alienation. For example, if some school exhibits a predominance of Concrete personality, Authoritarian-Ritualistic role and 3R's organization, it would be a school in which these congeries of demand are not alienative. The alienation in that school would be a result not of its predominant characteristics but of its secondary ones, which operate below the level of demand. Practically speaking, it would very probably be easier to introduce changes in secondary characteristics and thus reduce alienation in such schools. We are able, in this kind of analysis, to locate the precise sources of alienation in the interaction between specified types of demand, in this case the secondary facets which transform the neutrality of Type I. By investigating analytically pure relations between facets of demand, we are able to locate effects which would otherwise be hidden from view.

The Type II context of Occupational organization and Instrumental role induces alienation regardless of personality. Increments in this combination of role and organization will engender comparable increments in alienation. Thus, the earlier finding that a Content focus is accompanied by alienation can be seen as a result, not of the routinized and universalistic Type I demand, but of the more differentiated pupil--as product and teacher-as-worker of the school-as-marketplace. If society "needs" this type of education in order to fill industrial and service jobs, the price is a more alienated corps of teachers.

Thus, a congruent focus on Content can be alienative or not in a number of ways. If role and organization are of different types, alienation is primarily a result of the interaction of abstract personality. If role and organization are both Type II, this generates the alienation, and personality plays no important part. Alienation neither increases or decreases if each facet of demand is Type I.

Moving on to Student focus, Table 10 suggests that increments in Individual Development organization, combined with either Ritualistic-Gratificatory or Guidance roles, will decrease alienation. As these emphases increase, the school will display a comparable decrease in teacher disaffection, and this effect would occur regardless of personality. At the Type III level of Group Locomotion and Ritualistic-Gratification, however, teacher alienation is contingent upon personality. If personality is abstract in this context, alienation decreases, but alienation will increase if personality is Concrete. If role is Guidance rather than Ritualistic-Gratificatory, Concrete personality continues to raise the level of alienation, while an Abstract emphasis makes no difference. Building on our previous discussion of interaction between demands, we can suggest that the Individual Development Organization is the major factor in reducing alienation in Student focus schools, and the Concrete personality increases alienation in these schools.

In mixed focus schools (upper right and lower left quadrants), Table 10 indicates that alienation is differentially responsive to all three facets of demand and depends on the particular mix involved. When organization is Type I or II and role Type II or IV, it is usually personality that generates a shift in alienation; when role is Type IV, Guidance, Abstract personality increases alienation; when Role is Ritualistic-Gratificatory, Concrete personality has a decreasing effect. Personality would seem to be the critical factor in these kinds of mix, where the organization focus is on Content and the role focus is on Students.

When mix is reversed, however, role and organization overshadow personality. The clear and potent effect of Instrumental role can be seen regardless of how it is combined with organization and personality. As role changes toward Authoritarian-Ritualistic, however, Individual Development reasserts itself in decreased alienation.

Generally, then, the interaction of demand helps to make the workings of teacher alienation understandable. We have been able to locate the sources of alienation in combinations of demand, and to assess the more influential facets of demand as we do so. An Instrumental teacher role will increase alienation in every case, whatever the other facets of demand. Individual Development organization will decrease alienation, except when it is combined with Instrumental role. The effects of personality are not so telescoped. Personality is an important factor when role is Guidance, probably because such a role does not mediate between the teacher and the environment, leaving personality a chance to operate. In this circumstance, personality operates to increase alienation when it is incongruent with the focus of the organization. Finally, we should note that a pure Type I school, congruent in emphasis, is unrelated to alienation, while a pure Type IV school, also congruent in emphasis, decreases alienation. In these kinds of schools, our original hypothesis, that congruence is accompanied by lesser degrees of alienation, is borne out. In some facets of demand congruence is the important factor, in others it is the substantive focus of demand.

DISCUSSION

Given the variety of ideas and variables inherent in our original questions, along with the unexpected nature of some of our findings, considerable explanatory discussion was necessary as we presented our results. Since further discussion will take place in the section on implications, here we shall include only certain limitations of data and analysis.

Data were gathered by questionnaire survey techniques. They were gathered at one point in time and are limited to the teachers in one state. Consequently they depend upon standardized responses to standardized questions; causal analyses are based on cross-sectional data, and the sample universe excludes many teachers in many places. All items were pretested, but it is still quite possible that a particular response does not represent its theoretical intent, and that the same responses from different teachers are not empirically equivalent. The reader should be cautioned that these issues of theoretical expression and empirical equivalence, are inevitable characteristics of the survey, and cannot be tossed aside here. It may be, for example, that direct classroom observation and informal interviews would show the amount of alienation to be higher than we found it to be. People in organizations seem to need considerable preliminary interaction before saying the things that alienated people say, and they often refuse to make alienated statements even when direct observation of their behavior would indicate that they are alienated.

It should be added, however, that the classroom access required by a more complete set of observations probably would have been impossible to obtain. Even so teachers would have modified their regular behavior and the economics of such a study would have made it unfeasible. The schools in the state were very cooperative, probably because the University is the only teacher training institution in the state and therefore relations were close and binding. A more intrusive study on the same scale, even under cooperative conditions, probably would have been impossible. However, we recommend that a similar study be attempted on a smaller scale, to include the effects as well as the conditions of alienation.

With regard to cooperation and its effect on validity, this study was very fortunate. The return rate on the sample selecting questionnaire was relatively high (78%). For the instrument which helped us select the schools for study, supervisory staff permitted access to every school selected, and the principals and teachers used at least one staff meeting for administering instruments. The use of questionnaire, provided greater assurance of anonymity to the teacher, which is particularly important when asking them about alienation as a result of working in a particular school. Data on appropriate teacher behavior and descriptions of the kinds of schools in which the teachers worked were similarly sensitive.

Concerning data analysis, we relied almost exclusively on the school as the unit of analysis rather than the individual. N is therefore usually 18, a number which does not meet the assumptions of our statistical tests. But there was no real alternative, since our variables are contextual properties of an environment, not attributes of the

Table 10

Variation in Alienation by Interaction of Demand*

Role

	I. AR		II. I		III. RG		IV. G	
	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per
Organization	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A
I. 3R	0	0	0	+	-	-	0	+
II. 0	0	+	+	+	-	0	0	+
III. GL	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	0
IV. ID	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

Content focus, (except Abstract Personality)

Student focus (except Concrete Personality)

*1. + = Increased Alienation
- = Decreased Alienation
0 = No change in Alienation

2. Increased and Decreased Alienation Determined by t significance at .05 level.

3. Teacher Role Should and Do interact in about the same ways with organization, so we include only Should for brevity.

Table 11

Teacher Characteristics and Alienation*

			Alienation			
Characteristic	Total	P	M	N	I	SE
Teaching Level	.237	.177	.203	.195	.254	.152
Sex	.128	.083	.086	.101	.111	.141
Marital Status	.266	.225	.181	.147	.251	.226
Age	.248	.177	.282	.198	.216	.283
Years Experience	.246	.209	.215	.172	.206	.226
Years in the School	.265	.233	.360	.237	.227	.245
Number of Different Schools Taught	.283	.210	.206	.197	.290	.398
Fathers Occupation	.237	.189	.184	.231	.141	.230
Community of Residence (same as school)	.087	.092	.110	.055	.091	.082

* Contingency coefficients based upon Chi Square tests are reported. Large N's (535) caused many Chi Squares to be significant when they actually contained a weak relationship.

The direction of the findings - The following characteristics were associated with greater amounts of alienation:

a. Senior high teaching
b. Male
c. Single
d. Under 40
e. 7 to 15 years experience--more than, less, or more
f. Greater the number of years in same school
g. Greater number of school changes
h. Blue collar workers
i. Living outside of school community

individual. We were theoretically required to measure school climates, and have done this by aggregating scores into collective properties, then relating these properties to one another. The reader should be careful not to assume the ecological fallacy, that teachers are in fact more alienated in one kind of school than in another. We only know about alienative contexts by having turned individual scores into collective ones.

We did, however, expect that certain characteristics of individuals might have some bearing upon whether or not they became alienated in their work. Males, for example, might be more likely to feel alienated than females for at least two reasons: the relatively low salaries, and because teaching is predominantly a female world. Several of the same kinds of notions could be conveniently applied to questions about the influence of age, marital status, school level taught, and so forth. Since we were interested in the social contexts of teacher alienation we did not care to emphasize these questions but did complete an analysis of the interaction of biographical data and alienation. Table 11 summarizes the findings.

The relationships revealed in Table 11 indicate that individual teacher characteristics are weakly related to alienation. Some are more strongly related than others. But on the whole, since the relationships are generally not strong, and because there is no reason to suspect that the distribution of these characteristics does not occur in similar ways across all schools, we perceive no distortion of our contextual hypothesis.

Finally, we have observed only conceived alienation, not the behavioral effects of such alienation. One must be careful not to infer that certain behaviors will automatically follow upon alienation as a state of mind. Though it is doubtful that conceived alienation has no behavioral effects at all, we don't know if this is the case.[12] Equally important, we don't know if the effects of alienation are "bad," and if conceived alienation is prima facie bad. It may well be, for example, that an isolated teacher, being cut off from the constraints of other teachers, would be more likely to innovate on standard practices and thus have a beneficial effect on his students, his school, and even his community.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Incongruence between facets of demand occurs in all schools, to some degree, but teacher alienation does not. Consequently, some modification of the congruence hypothesis is necessary. The idea of incongruence between facets of demand as a persistent determining factor in alienation was modified to take into account the content as well as congruence of the demand factors. Facets of demand in a school--personality, role and organization--not only can be consistent or not, but also can be substantively focused upon either the Content to be learned or the Student who is learning. The intercorrelation of Type I and II demands with each other, and of Type III and IV demands with one another, reinforces this distinction in Content or Student focus. High alienation is associated with a Content focus and low alienation with a Student focus.

In the correlation section, the separate alienative influences of facets of demand were observed to pull in different directions, even when these facets were of the same type and focus. A Type IV Organization, for example, (Individual Development) tends to depress alienation, while a Type IV, Teacher Should (Guidance) tends to increase alienation. This raised the question as to which facet of demand, working as they do in different directions, would be more powerful in any actual case. This issue was clarified in the section on the interaction of role, organization and personality. An Instrumental Role always increases alienation regardless of organization and personality. With the exception of Instrumental Role, an Individual Development school always decreases alienation, whatever the personality or the role. When role (should) and organization are being measured, in that role is Guidance and thus Student oriented, and organization is focused on Content, personality is involved and will generate alienation unless it is congruent with the focus of the organization. When congruent, alienation is neither increased or decreased.

Thus the focus of demand in a school is a more important determinant of teacher alienation than consistency in demand. When all facets of demand are concentrated in the Occupational-Instrumental-Concrete type of Content focus, alienation is quite high. When they are concentrated in the Individual Development-Guidance-Abstract type of Student focus, alienation is low. Congruence operates within the distinction between foci, meaning that certain concentrations of focus will have concerted effects on the alienation of teachers. In other combinations, the relative importance of role, organization and personality will vary and thus no single facet of demand is overwhelming. In different combinations one facet is more important than the others. Taking all findings together, we have observed that the context of social demand in a school--the confluence of conceptual style of personality, the expectations and behaviors of teachers, and enforced educational goals--will influence the alienation of its teachers. Teacher alienation is socially organized, and different social demands generate different amounts of alienation.

Implications

Nearly everyone in contemporary society spends most of his life in and between organizations. We have tried to conceptualize a conjoined series of organized demands that will influence individual alienation within organizations, and then to test these ideas among teachers. We have attempted to show not only that alienation is socially organized, but how it is socially organized, insofar as the individual responds to a variety of relationships between his personality, the role he plays, and the goals of the organization in which he lives out his work life.

One important implication of our findings concerns whether substantive activity or the integration of an organization is a more critical determinant of alienation. We noted, to begin with, that demands in schools are heterogeneous and so no school is perfectly integrated or congruent. We also noted that homogeneous and congruent schools are more alienated than some heterogeneous ones. As an explanation of alienation, degree of integration between facets of social organization suffered a serious blow. It was further diminished when we discovered that focus, or substantive activity (Student vs Content) was more regularly associated with alienation. Our evidence indicates that it is not the integration of demand, but the substance of demand that makes a man alienated. This suggests that of the two earliest writers on alienation, Hegel and Marx, the latter was more correct. Hegel thought of man as self-conscious and man as labor's creator, with the consequence that labor is a result of man. Marx, on the other hand thought of man as a doer, and labor as man's creator, with the result that man as worker is often alienated from the forces which have created him. Hegel supposed that any social analysis should begin with man's ideas and consciousness; Marx felt that it should begin with the practiced conditions of his activity. It seems from our evidence, that alienation is more closely associated with the activities and practices of a demand focus, than with the Hegelian self-conscious assessment of congruence in demand.

This distinction and evidence has a bearing on more than scholarly intellectual history, for the Marxian and Hegelian versions of social life are representative of current works which alternatively place greater stress on thinking as a determinant and activity as a determinant. Politics, for example, is variously treated as a series of ideas and hopes, or ideologies and utopias, seeking their spot in the governmental marketplace; or as an epiphenomenon of the things people are doing. What people know and think is at least partly independent from what they do and practice, with the result that they are capable of overcoming their position in society to the extent that they can make judgments and suggestions independent of the limited "self interest" that is attached to their position in society. In our case, however, we can speculate that this version of affairs is not realized. Indeed, the institution of the school seems to be working itself out "behind the backs" of teachers. Teachers apparently do not look around and assess the integration or dissonance of demand and then become alienated or not. Incongruence does not enter the individuals consciousness in the sense that it is not closely related to alienated consciousness. Indeed, teachers seem only to respond to the activities created by demand, which is our version of their labor. In this respect, alienation does not depend on cognition or consciousness, but on the socially organized structure of practice. Alienation is activity institutionalized, and dissonance, discrepancy, and the self as a body of ideas have little to do with it.

We might follow this implication with a brief discussion of stability as a feature of social systems. Our schools typically exhibit mixed demands, which are contradictory in many cases. Alienation is not rampant, however, and from this we can infer that a stable social system is not one in which their is an absence of demand conflict, so much as one in which conflict can be managed. Conflict is institutionalized, not personal, and stability depends upon whether or not that conflict can be institutionally managed, not whether it can be personally resolved. The analytic potential for trouble is built into schools, but this trouble often does not occur. An extension of the present research would be to explain why trouble does not occur in the presence of conflicting facets of demand, by discovering the locus of trouble absorbing mechanisms.

We discovered that the subdimensions of alienation are responsive to demand in about the same ways. Powerlessness, Isolation, and so forth, though occurring in greater and lesser numbers, all tend to be generated by the same congeries of demand. Thus, in terms of their socially organized determinants, the forms of alienation are similar. But this is not to say that they are composed of the same feelings, nor that their effects will be the same. If the feelings are different it is probable that the effects will be different. Someone who is afflicted by Meaninglessness will behave differently than someone who is Normless. In the first case, any action at all would be difficult, while in the second the action would take the form of deviance.

Whether presence of alienation is to be regretted cannot be determined by the results of this study. Though we may sympathize with the individual in such a state, we can also understand that certain school effects of alienation could be positively evaluated. If a school were Type II, and thus contained alienated teachers, we could say that alienation is bad only if we conceive such a school to be inadequate according to some other standard. If a school happened to be Type I, and thus had fewer alienative tendencies, we could only be satisfied if we thought that such a school was adequate on other specified grounds. Without knowledge of the effects of alienation, and in the absence of a set of standards for evaluating those effects, we cannot assess the appropriateness of alienation. It is quite possible that alienation is a source of change from within, and if change from within is deemed desirable, then alienation should also be desirable. Those who are not alienated may be inept, perhaps in the way an Authoritarian-Ritualistic teacher would be inept, with the result that the absence of alienation in such roles is the thing to be regretted.

Finally, we should note that alienation is an effect of secondary as well as primary demands, and an intent to raise or lower alienation could most easily be accomplished in the secondary area. Being a result of secondary demand, the fundamental character of the school would not have to be transformed. Instead, a change in some secondary focus would decrease the alienative tone of the whole school. We cannot provide any detailed information about the amount of the decrease, but we can suggest that a school need not be totally refurbished before any change would occur.

Recommendations

Patterns of school organization have usually evolved out of a tradition which erodes even more slowly than the culture which the schools service. The increasing diversity of tasks within a highly complex technological society has set education moving in two distinct directions to accommodate changing needs. In some ways schools have increased the routinization of their tasks through a strong emphasis on division of labor and intensified bureaucratization. In other ways, and perhaps as a reaction to the first tendency, some schools are decreasing their bureaucratized emphasis, and are concentrating on creating a structure which is flexible enough to accommodate diverse talents and problems on an individual basis. Our evidence suggests that the second plan is less alienative. Teachers who play educational roles that are congruent with generalized expectations to produce a highly efficient technical society through a set of highly structured Content-focused-means, in the presence of a mounting concern about individual needs, are involved in a problematic venture. Problems, which educators in secondary schools and colleges are beginning to confront, may not be manageable within traditional structures. Schools which focus their tasks in terms of particularistic qualities, would be more likely to generate stabilizing mechanisms than schools which retain a rigid universalistic orientation to students.

The effects of alienation must be studied before any evaluative recommendations can be made. The kinds of strategies teachers who are alienated employ may not influence educational innovations. Most teachers are women and most women teachers are married. The role of wife and mother usually dominates the self concept over that of teacher. This, in many convenient ways can depress the effects of alienation. If we can argue that there are no real effects, on teacher behavior, we may then arrive at the conclusion that students are the only victims and the system rolls on.

Since we have arrived at no definitive congruences which can predict the actual adaptation and adjustment of individuals to schools, we cannot with any assurance argue that a teacher placement system can be built upon our findings. Nevertheless, we can suggest that certain kinds of personalities respond more favorably to certain kinds of climates. Since we were unable to distinguish schools with absolute congruence across all facets of demand we cannot hold up any model by which a "goodness of fit" between teachers and schools can be guaranteed. On the other hand we can infer that certain kinds of personalities are more likely to fit into specified kinds of schools, if we can make the leap from our instruments to actual situations. Concrete personalities may fit into Content oriented schools better, but the combination may in some ways be disasterous for both school and person. Many persons are alienated although they are working in the kind of environment in which their skills most neatly fit, and to which their personalities are best suited. If secondary demands, such as the requirements of a technological society, intrude into the classical education situation, the effects, as our results seem to indicate, are alienative.

Based on our data, the most important recommendation we can make, is that we need to look more closely than we have into the problems associated with training young people for roles in a technological society. The human element which is becoming increasingly more sensitive to dehumanization, emerges and must emerge in the consciousness of most people associated with the educational venture. An Instrumental Role is probably most efficient for meeting the demands of a society oriented to and by occupations, but it is also the most alienative. The way in which other demands need to be accommodated to reduce this effect is an urgent problem for educational research.

Finally, we must eventually take students into account in our assessment of the effects of alienation as a contextual variable in the school. It is a simple but crucial fact that persons who are alienated within an organization are likely to take out their frustrations on the lesser participants, in our case the students. Conditions which are alienative to teachers may be equally alienative to students. The rumblings on major university campuses in the past few years suggest that our adaptive-instrumental mechanisms are not being universally welcomed. The large state and private universities seem to be experiencing the greatest amount of stress, and it is not by chance that the eruptions occur in these multiversities. Some would argue that the characteristics of students who attend these universities make them more conducive to rebellion than those in other kinds of universities or colleges. We would make the argument that the structuring of demands upon students is a function of the organization of these demands by the institution, and that these contexts best explain what appear to be the effects of alienation.

SUMMARY

In this study of certain forms of teacher alienation, we have described the various kinds of alienation and the different school contexts in which they are likely to occur.

We have examined five kinds of alienation: (1) Powerlessness--the expectation that one's behavior cannot determine the outcomes he seeks; (2) Meaninglessness--the inability to make any interpretation of events; (3) Normlessness--the expectation that socially unapproved behaviors are most efficient in attaining outcomes; (4) Isolation--the devaluation of social norms; (5) Self-estrangement--the devaluation of self.

In our society teachers work in a formal organization with other people and through the tissue of their personalities. These phenomena of organization, role and personality are facets of organized demand upon the individual, and we treat these facets as school contexts which will influence alienation for the teacher. The following types of demand were derived from the relations between organization, role and personality:

Type I. Organization is 3R's and emphasizes the learning of all things traditionally expected of students. Teacher role is Authoritarian-Ritualistic and the teacher is expected to make all important decisions, stress morality and treat all students as if they were a single unit in the teaching of intellectual materials. Personality is Unilateral Dependent; the teacher transfers his own experience to others without modifications and conceives rules to be absolute.

Type II. Organization is Occupational, and students are made to specialize in those activities for which there is economic demand. Role is Instrumental and academically oriented, without much emphasis on student morality. Personality is Negative Dependent, in which the person can make slight distinctions between self and other, and rules are conceived to be variable when situations are greatly different.

Type III. Organization is Group Locomotion and stresses the development of group leadership. Role is Ritualistic-Gratificatory and emphasizes the development of student morality without stressing traditional content. Personality is Conditionally Dependent, and recognizes that the self is influenced by society and environment.

Type IV. Organization is Individual Development and stresses the individual distinctions and relationships among students. Role is Guidance, in which the teacher is expected to depress institutionalized morality and traditional materials in favor of work geared to the pace and composition of the class. Personality is interdependent, stressing the development of alternatives from an elaborated recognition of the variation between situations.

Three major questions were asked about the relations between these contexts of demand and teacher alienation:

1. How is total alienation, or a particular kind of alienation, related to incongruence between type of organization, type of role, and type of personality. That is, how does a school in which facets of demand that are not of the same type affect the alienation of its teachers?

2. Is any single facet of demand (personality, role or organization)more often associated with alienation than the other two?

3. Is a given degree of alienation better described as an interactive or additive effect of the relations between personality, role and organization?

Research was conducted in 18 schools in one state. Schools were selected on the basis of a short form of the organization instrument to ensure a representative sample on the organization variable. All teachers were administered all instruments at staff meetings. Pupils were selected by random matched techniques and given the Pupil Role instrument. The personality instrument was a paper and pencil test. All others were fixed choice questionnaires. Analyses were primarily correlation and analysis of multiple cross-classifications.

With regard to the first question, about relations between contexts of demand and teacher alienation, findings indicated that schools are generally incongruent, but that teachers in these schools are not generally alienated. Furthermore, schools congruent in the Type I and II areas often exhibited more alienation than schools in the Type III and IV areas. Schools that were equally congruent were differentially alienated. The supposition about congruence was modified to take the distinction in substantive focus of demand on teacher activity into account. A Content focus (Types I and II) stresses the materials to be learned, a Student focus (Types III and IV) stresses an orientation to the particularistic qualities of students who do the learning. A Content school is consistently more alienative, a Student school consistently less alienative.

In answer to the second question, we found that no single facet of demand is regularly associated with alienation. An Instrumental Role is likely to increase alienation independently of other facets. When Organization Type IV (Individual Development) is emphasized, alienation is likely to decrease independently of other facets. When organization and role are incongruent in focus, and Role is Type III or IV and Organization Type I or II, personality is likely to increase alienation if it is incongruent with Organization. In all other combinations, the effect on alienation is mixed and shows no patterned effect of one particular facet of demand. Specific combinations of demand generate different patterns of alienation in those cases.

A given degree of alienation is better described as an interactive rather than an additive effect of personality, role and organization. The separate effects of demand often tend to pull against one another, and it is only by their interaction that we can account for alienation in a given school. Some schools, for example, combine two facets of demand which have no relation to alienation when taken separately, but when the interaction of these are taken together, the school exhibits high alienation. Certain congeries of demand can amplify the alienation that would occur if their separate contributions were added together.

One implication of these findings is that what one does, ones activity, is a more important determinant of alienation than what one thinks. Although the kind of alienation we have measured is the feeling of attachment to society and work, the context of alienation is activity, not a dissonance between the features of organization of which teachers might be self conscious. It is the difference in focus, of what one does, as either Content or Student, that is more regularly associated with alienation. The person does not mediate between institution and self by thinking, with the result that organizations can indeed be said to have a life of their own.

Given that schools display a heterogeneous set of internal demands, it is better to think of stable schools as those which can manage conflict, not those in which there is an absence of conflict. Potential conflict is always at the surface of relationships between facets of demand, when these are incongruent, but alienation is not high in these schools. The real and potential conflict in demands are not manifested in the high amounts of alienation which could be taken as benchmarks of severe organizational instability.

The various forms of alienation tend to be responsive to demand in the same ways. We can say, therefore, that the contexts of different forms of alienation are similar, but we should not infer that the effects of alienation are also similar. We have not observed the effects of alienation, nor can we decide that alienation is undesirable. There are many conceivable circumstances in which alienation, as a source of school change, would be very desirable. Neither the effects or the desirability of alienation can be inferred from this study.

Without specific knowledge of the effects of alienation it is difficult to make recommendations about the possible uses of our findings. Once we have such knowledge it might then be possible to recommend contexts, and the ways to structure them, which would meet some set of standards. Therefore we strongly recommend intensive investigation into the problem of alienation effects, so that the utility of this study will be increased.

We suspect that the alienation which occurs in Content-oriented schools is dysfunctional to many of the objectives of education, particularly those directed towards the fulfillment of individual goals such as creativity and curiosity. Alienation, while problematic in ongoing systems of this type, may ultimately be the circumstance out of which innovations emerge.

REFERENCES

1. For brief reviews of the intellectual history of alienation, see Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, December 1959, pp. 783-91; Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," *New Politics*, Spring 1962, pp. 116-34.

2. We have adopted Seeman's classification in several respects. Seeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 784-90.

3. We have omitted going beyond alienation in schools to describe the effects it might have on teachers' political and economic affiliations, their lives at home, or their treatment of students.

4. These types have been developed from Talcott Parsons' theories of social systems. See his "An Outline of the Social System," in Persons, et. al, *Theories of Society*, Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, pp. 30-84; *The Social System*, Free Press of Glencoe, 1951; *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*, Free Press of Glencoe, Chapters 3 and 5, 1953.

5. Derived from C. W. Gordon and L. Adler, *Dimensions of Teacher Leadership in Classroom Social Systems*, Research Report of the U. S. Office of Education, 1965; C. W. Gordon, "The Sociology of Education, " in G. Kneller, *Foundations of Education*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963, pp. 404-32.

6. Adapted from Harvey, Hunt, and Schroeder, *Conceptual Systems and Personality Organization*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1961.

7. We should caution here that the social and intellectual *effects* of alienated teachers can be out of all proportion *to their* number. One alienated teacher in five could have serious consequences for his pupils and colleagues. Confidence that such a teacher would have little effect must await research on the topic.

8. This was determined by comparing the median alienation score for teachers within the school, with the median alienation score for all schools.

9. Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

10. See, for example, Erich Fromm, The Sane Society, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1955; Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilization, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1934.

11. Personality is omitted because it is composed of only two types neither of which varies or is correlated to any degree.

12. Seeman finds little generalizing of alienation. But he depends upon verbal responses and his effects are primarily personal thoughts and conceptions rather than activity. See M. Seeman "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation," American Sociological Review, April 1967, pp. 273-85.

APPENDICES

ORGANIZATION

This questionnaire is intended to describe the characteristics of many schools. In responding to the following questions think about your school as a whole, what you might call the style or emphasis of your school, not what you believe should be the style or emphasis, or what goes on in your class in particular. Respond the way you believe teachers and administrators as a group in your school would respond.

Please check (√) the response that you believe is the most appropriate answer to each question. Other answers may also apply but we are interested in what you believe to be the best answer to each question.

You are not being asked to sign your name, but at the bottom of this page, in the space provided, please write in the name of your school, the full address, and check the appropriate level.

Name of School________________________________

Elementary____________
Jr. High____________
Jr.-Sr. High____________
Sr. High____________

Full Address________________________________

____

Remember to check the most appropriate answer for your school as a whole.

1. In our school the teacher who is perceived as the best is one who:

____1. Can reduce the most complicated problems to a level where they can be understood by good students.
____2. Can motivate his students to discuss academic problems among themselves, both inside and outside of regular class hours.
____3. Can excite individual students to spend a considerable amount of their spare time on individual projects of their own making.
____4. Can find new and challenging ways to interest his students in fundamental subjects.

2. If limited money were available which improvements in teaching materials would be chosen first at your school:

____1. Newly developing specialized fields and current examples.
____2. New curriculum materials which a student could relate to his own life experience.
____3. Purchasing standardized texts and exercise books.
____4. New works on group leadership and citizenship.

3. In our school we are expected to plan assignments so that:

____1. Each student must apply his own experience and the results of his own thinking to the assignments.
____2. Students must discuss the problem in groups and bring forth a group solution.
____3. Everyone has the same standard exercises to complete.

4. If our school had to choose between the following, it would probably emphasize:

____1. Group activities.
____2. Counseling services.
____3. Fundamentals for all.
____4. Basic skills for those intending to go into higher education.

5. When a student violates a class rule in our school, his punishment will:

____1. Depend upon what seemed to cause the violation.
____2. Be set forth in the rules of the school.
____3. Depend upon the kind of person who committed the offense.
____4. Be decided according to the rules developed by his class.

6. If there was to be a drastic change in the kinds of students attending your school, such as many Negro children entering a white school or vice versa, how would the situation be handled:

____1. Everybody in the school would cooperate to determine the course of action.
____2. The curriculum would change in terms of the goals and interests of the new student body.
____3. Those people most affected, in both the school and community would be brought together to consider any problem.
____4. The administration would keep things going pretty much the same way they are presently.

7. Our school believes in:

____1. Grouping by age level.
____2. Grouping by curriculum areas.
____3. Heterogeneous grouping in general.
____4. Homogeneous grouping in general.

8. In our school the teacher who is least likely to obtain tenure is one who:

____1. Fails to deal with the individual problems of his students.
____2. Fails to challenge the brighter students with the specialized instruction they need.
____3. Fails to control and guide his classes in group learning activities.
____4. Fails to bring his students up to the accepted standards of achievement in basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills.

9. In our classes, teachers are usually expected to:

____1. Guide their classes toward an agreed upon approach to the subject matter.
____2. Look to specialized sources for, or prepare their own materials for, the particular specialized needs of their students.
____3. Guide their individual students toward an acceptable format for the course.
____4. Drill, drill, drill -- until the students grasp the meaning of what they are required to learn.

10. The kind of class a student is placed in, or reassigned to, is mostly influenced by:

____1. Indications of ability to get along with others in the class.
____2. Aptitude and achievement test results.
____3. The individual's overall qualities other than test scores.
____4. General formulas on age and grade level.

11. In our school the average troublemaker is usually:

____1. Taken aside after class and disciplined individually by his particular teacher.
____2. Sent to the principal or vice principal for discipline according to school rules.
____3. Disciplined according to rules that each class develops.
____4. Punished by the consensus of what the class considers appropriate.

12. The students in our school seem to want:

____1. Special knowledge adapted to their career plans.
____2. Class projects of their own making.
____3. To work mainly with things that interest them.
____4. General knowledge that can be used in many situations.

13. In general, our school tends to emphasize:

____1. The overall accomplishments of a class and its teacher.
____2. The day to day performance of students and teachers.
____3. The fundamental knowledge of students and teachers.
____4. The special abilities of individual students and teachers

14. If the composition of our student body were to change abruptly, or new programs were instituted requiring major changes in curriculum, our school's problems would be handled by:

____1. Members of the administration
____2. Selection or departmental directors or chairmen.
____3. Individual faculty members as they see fit.
____4. The faculty and administration together.

15. The main goal in our school is to prduce students who:

____1. Are intellectually competent in many areas of learning.
____2. Will be able to use the materials learned here in the world outside.
____3. Have learned how to deal effectively with others.
____4. Know what they are and where they stand with others.

16. In our school the first teacher to be let go would be the one who failed to:

____1. Work with groups and group projects.
____2. Work with brighter students with special interests.
____3. Spend time with individual students and their problems.
____4. Get across the basic points to all students.

PUPIL ROLE

What I Think a Teacher Should Be

You are going to be asked many questions about what you believe a teacher should do and be. When you are thinking about what answer to check do not think about what your teacher or teachers do but what you believe they should do.

Please fill out the blanks at the bottom of the page.

Name____________________________________

School__________________________________

Grade___________________________________

(For high schools only) Course of Study_________________________

1. Should your teacher ask the class if she should review the work you did the day before?

   ______Yes   ______No

2. Do you think your teacher ought to be friendly to students outside of class?

   ______Yes   ______No

3. Do you think your teacher should ever give a test and then not count it?

   ______Yes   ______No

4. Should your teacher make a note every time you recite in class?

   ______Yes   ______No

5. Do you think your teacher ought to give surprise tests?

   ______Yes   ______No

6. Do you think your teacher should tell you what things are important and what things are not important in what she teaches you?

   ______Yes   ______No

7. Should your teacher have the class discuss every film you see?

   ______Yes   ______No

8. Should your teacher take off a grade for neatness?

   ______Yes   ______No

9. Do you think your teacher should change somebody's seat if he is bothering the class?

   ______Yes   ______No

10. Do you think your teacher should spend more time with other things than with your textbook?

   ______Yes   ______No

11. Should your teacher ask you to help her plan the week's work?

_____Yes _____No

12. Should your teacher count all the extra work you do for her?

_____Yes _____No

13. Do you think teachers ought to give you mainly work that you enjoy?

_____Yes _____No

14. Should your teacher want you to memorize alot of things like names, dates, and lines from plays or poetry?

_____Yes _____No

15. Do you think your teacher ought to tell you many things and have you take notes?

_____Yes _____No

16. Should a teacher give you work that is too hard to handle?

_____Yes _____No

17. Should your teacher let class officers keep order in class?

_____Yes _____No

18. Do you think a teacher ought to call on students to answer questions even if they don't raise their hands?

_____Yes _____No

19. Should your teacher give someone who is absent extra time to help him catch up?

_____Yes _____No

20. Should your teacher give you detentions for not doing your work?

_____Yes _____No

21. Do you think your teacher ought to let you choose your own projects to work on?

_____Yes _____No

22. Should the teacher let the class grade each other's papers?

______Yes ______No

23. If someone is caught cheating on a test should your teacher let him take the test over?

______Yes ______No

24. If you are having a game or a dance or some special activity should your teacher give you an easier assignment?

______Yes ______No

25. Should your teacher let you sit anywhere you want to in class?

______Yes ______No

26. If your class is noisy should your teacher stop the work and give you a talk on how to behave?

______Yes ______No

27. If your class is not ready to take a test do you think your teacher ought to postpone it until you are ready?

______Yes ______No

28. When your class has been noisy do you think your teacher should give you extra work to do?

______Yes ______No

29. When you take a math test, should your math teacher give you credit for working problems right even if your answer is wrong?

______Yes ______No

30. If nearly everyone does poorly on a test should your teacher give them all failing grades?

______Yes ______No

31. Should your teacher always return written work to the class?

_____Yes ______No

32. Do you think your teacher should let you grade your own papers sometimes?

______Yes ______No

33. Do you think your teacher should expect you to take notes whenever she is talking?

______Yes ______No

34. If your whole class thought a test was too hard do you think your teacher ought to count it?

______Yes ______No

35. Should your teacher tell you how many tests she plans to give during the term?

______Yes ______No

36. Should your teacher be an easy grader?

______Yes ______No

37. Should your teacher give good grades to students who show improvement even if they don't get high marks in their tests?

______Yes ______No

38. Should your teacher have something written on the board at the beginning of class telling you what you have to do for tha day?

______Yes ______No

39. Should your teacher use the text book a lot?

______Yes ______No

40. Should your teacher give you all the time you need to work on a topic?

______Yes ______No

41. Should your teacher let you hand in work that is not finished if that was all you could do?

______Yes ______No

42. Should your teacher give a grade for your notebooks?

______Yes ______No

43. If the class was not happy doing some work, do you think your teacher ought to change it to something more enjoyable?

______Yes ______No

44. Do you think your teacher ought to tell you exactly how to do your homework when she assigns it?

______Yes ______No

45. Should your teacher ask the class to help her plan the work for the semester?

______Yes ______No

46. Do you think your teacher ought to mark off for spelling and grammar if it is not an English class?

______Yes ______No

47. Do you think your teachers should always let you know how well you are doing in class?

______Yes ______No

48. Should teachers give detentions?

______Yes ______No

49. Should your teacher ever give some students who are behind work that she doesn't give other students?

______Yes ______No

50. When your teacher gives a test do you think she ought to ask about facts?

______Yes ______No

51. Should your teacher read good papers that some students have written to the whole class?

______Yes ______No

TEACHER ROLE

This questionnaire is intended to gain a composite picture of what most teachers believe should be ideal teacher behavior as well as what constitutes typical teacher behavior. Please choose the response you feel is most appropriate in the what teachers do category even if you cannot know exactly.

For each question four responses are given. Choose only one response. This will indicate, at the same time, your impression of what teachers as a group usually do, as well as your attitude about how teachers should behave in different situations.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please fill in the autobiographical data on this page before beginning the questionnaire.

Name:______________________________ Sex M F

Marital Status: single married divorced separated widowed

Age: ________

Years of Teaching: ________

Years of Teaching at this school: ________

How many schools have you taught at? ________

Was education your undergraduate major? Yes No

What was your father's occupation____________________

When was the last time you took a graduate course?____________

What undergraduate college did you attend?____________________

If married, what is your spouse's occupation____________________

Do you live in the same community in which you teach? Yes No

(for Junior and Senior High School teachers only):

What is your teaching assignment (i.e., history, English, Mechanial Drawing,)____________________

1. Should a teacher ask the class if she should review the work done the day before?

_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

2. Do you think a teacher ought to be friendly to students outside of class?

_____A. They should and most are.
_____B. They shouldn't but most are.
_____C. They should but most aren't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most aren't.

3. Do you think a teacher ought to give a test and then not count it?

_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shoudn't and most don't.

4. Should a teacher make a note every time a student recites in class?

_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

5. Do you think a teacher ought to give surprise tests?

_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't, but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shoudn't and most don't.

6. Do you think a teacher ought to tell the students what things are important and what things are not important in what she teaches the class?

_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

7. Should a teacher have the class discuss every film they see?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

8. Should a teacher take off a grade for neatness?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

9. Do you think a teacher should change a student's seat if he is bothering the class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most dnn't.

10. Do you think a teacher ought to spend more time with other things than the textbook?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

11. Should a teacher ask the students to help her plan the week's work?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

12. Should a teacher count all the extra work a student does for her?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

13. Do you think a teacher ought to give her class mainly work that they enjoy?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

14. Should a teacher want her class to memorize a lot of things like names, dates, and lines from plays or poetry?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

15. Do you think a teacher ought to tell her class many things and have them take notes?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

16. Should a teacher give work that is too hard to do?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

17. Should a teacher let class officers keep order in class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

18. Do you think a teacher ought to call on students to answer questions even if they don't raise their hands?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

19. Should a teacher give someone who is absent extra time to help him catch up on his work?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't and most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

20. Should a teacher give a student detention for not doing his work?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

21. Do you think a teacher ought to let her students choose their own projects to work on?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

22. Should a teacher let the class grade each other's papers?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

23. If someone is caught cheating on a test should a teacher let him take the test over?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

24. Do you think a teacher should give a class an easier assignment if there is going to be a school dance, game or some special activity?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

25. Should a teacher let a student sit anywhere he wants in class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

26. When a class is noisy, should the teacher stop the work and give the class a talk on how to behave?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

27. If a class is not ready to take a test, should a teacher postpone it until the class is ready?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

28. If a class is noisy do you think a teacher should give extra work for them to do?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

29. During a math test, should a teacher give credit for problems worked right even though the answer is wrong?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

30. If nearly everyone does poorly on a test should a teacher give them all failing grades?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

31. Should a teacher always return written work to the class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

32. Do you think a teacher should let the students grade their own papers sometimes?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

33. Do you think a teacher should expect her class to take notes whenever she is talking?
_____A. They should and most do. _____C. They should but most don't.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do. _____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

34. If an entire class thought a test was too hard, do you think a teacher ought to count it?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

35. Should a teacher tell the class how many tests she plans to give during the school term?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

36. Should a teacher be an easy grader?
_____A. They should and most are.
_____B. They shouldn't but most are[illegible]t.
_____C. They should but most aren't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most aren't.

37. Should a teacher give good grades to students who show improvement, even if they don't get high marks on their tests?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't

38. Should a teacher have something written on the blackboard at the beginning of class telling her students what they have to do for that day?
_____A. They should and most do.
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_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

39. Should a teacher use the textbook a lot?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

40. Should a teacher give the class all the time they need to work on a topic?
_____A. They should and most.do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

41. Should a teacher let her students hand in work that is not finished if that is all they can do?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

42. Should a teacher give a grade for notebooks?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

43. If the class was not happy doing some work do you think a teacher ought to change it to something more enjoyable?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

44. Do you think a teacher ought to tell her students exactly how to do their homework when she assigns it?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

45. Should a teacher ask the class to help her plan the work for the semester?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

46. Do you think a teacher ought to mark off for spelling and grammar if it is not an English class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

47. Do you think a teacher should always let her students know how well they are doing in class?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

48. Should teachers give detention?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

49. Should a teacher ever give some students who are behind work that she does not give other students?
_____A. They should and most do.
_____B. They shouldn't but most do.
_____C. They should but most don't.
_____D. They shouldn't and most don't.

50. When a teacher gives a test, do you think she should ask for facts?
______A. They should and most do.
______B. They shouldn't but most do.
______C. They should but most don't.
______D. They shouldn't and most don't.

51. Should a teacher read to the entire class good papers that some students have written?
______A. They should and most do.
______B. They shouldn't but most do.
______C. They should but most don't.
______D. They shouldn't and most don't.

ALIENATION

This is a questionnaire to find out what teachers think about their jobs, the field of education, and the world in general. Please check whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. Please forget about the "good" and the "bad" and simply present the facts about what you believe to be true. If you aren't sure about some of these matters, then just guess about the situation; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Again, be sure to check one alternative, but only one, for each statement.

1. Like it or not, there is no way to measure success or failure in the teaching profession.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

2. It's not wishful thinking to believe that an individual can have an influence on things.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

3. People are usually correct when they talk and write about the elements of good training for teaching.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

4. Somehow I can't help feeling that I'm a "lone wolf" in this world.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

5. No real sense of accomplishment comes from my teaching.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

6. After all is said and done, I think I've done the kind of job I'd like to.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

7. There are many people in the world who are unwilling to meet others half way.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

8. The books on teaching don't dare put in the things a teacher has to do to get ahead.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

9. The world is full of unknowns, but with a little effort they can be understood.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

10. I sometimes feel personally to blame for the sad state of affairs today.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

11. There are fairly clear ways for judging progress in the teaching field.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

12. Getting anywhere in the world is largely a matter of luck.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

13. To be secure, educators have to hush up many things that go on behind the scenes.

_____strongly agree _____agree _____disagree _____strongly disagree

14. Among other things, a teacher should look for a place where he can establish some solid personal relationships.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

15. If I had to do it over again, I would still choose teaching.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

16. Being a success or failure in this business simply depends on how the cookie crumbles.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

17. It is hard to know these days whether the lot of the average person is getting better or worse.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

18. A job well done usually brings its rewards.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

19. I think I could live just as easily in another society, past or present, as the one I am living in now.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

20. There is no field like teaching when it comes to real satisfaction and pride.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

21. School administrators will listen if you have a good idea.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

22. I just don't like the things I have to do in this job.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

23. Few people agree with me, but schools have lost touch with what an educational program ought to be.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

24. In getting ahead in the teaching field, it's who you know that counts, not what you know.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

25. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

26. When I really work at it, my students learn what I have to teach them.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

27. The world around me may be difficult, but it is usually clear.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

28. I'm probably alone on this, but there are "right" and "wrong" ways to success in education, and most schools seem addicted to the "wrong" way.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

29. If a teacher wants to make a success of himself, he has to write his own rulebooks.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

30. I just don't like the image that teachers are expected to live up to.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

31. Teaching lacks the challenge I hoped it would have.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

32. I don't think it would be difficult to move on to some other school.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

33. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

34. When the powers that be speak of the purpose of our school programs it makes no sense to me.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

35. Whatever they say about the "ideal teacher", it's the apple-polisher who rules the roost.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

36. A man has to feel that he puts a part of himself in teaching.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

37. My friendships are the best reason for staying at this school.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

38. Doing things well is an important part of achievement in any vocation.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

39. People are wrong when they say there is nothing we can do to improve our educational system.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

40. There's no pride in just plugging away at your job from day to day and that's what I feel I'm doing on this job.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

41. Maybe a teacher serves a purpose, maybe not. Who knows?

____ strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

42. I usually have some voice in formulating the programs for my teaching.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

43. I think most people would agree that my way of doing things is a good way.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

44. I usually understand what is going on around me, even when I don't like it.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

45. I have pretty high standards, and more often than not my job allows me to meet them.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

46. I usually like people, and they usually like me.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

47. Whether one likes it or not, chance plays a large part in world events.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

48. A good thing about teaching is that you usually know where you stand.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

49. Being a stranger to those around me wouldn't bother me.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

50. I often have a rewarding sense of excitement about my work.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

51. People who accomplish something usually "make their own breaks."

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

52. With a little effort it is possible to know what is going on in the teaching field.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

53. Going by the book is the best way to accomplish something in life.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

54. When it comes to job satisfaction in the teaching field, there is no substitute for good friendships and pleasant students.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

55. All in all, I'm probably not a very attractive kind of teacher.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

56. The substance of what I teach is almost always determined by someone else.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

57. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

58. If getting ahead is what you're after, you have to take the "right" way of doing things with a grain of salt.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

59. I wouldn't let my ties in this school stand in my way of moving to another job.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree

60. The way I must teach has nothing to do with the way I'd like to teach.

____strongly agree ____agree ____disagree ____strongly disagree.

PERSONALITY

NAME________________________

Do not turn this page until you are given the signal

On the following pages you will be asked to discuss certain topics.

On each page you will find a different topic and your task is to discuss it.

For example: I like.......

When you are given the signal turn to Page 1. You will be given 4 minutes for each topic.

Make sure you complete your last sentence.

There are 4 pages in all. For each topic, complete the sentence and write at least two paragraphs.

Write your sentences as quickly but as clearly as possible.

When I am in doubt.....

Confusion.....

When others criticize me it usually means.....

When I am criticized......

ESSAY PROBLEM

Do not turn this page until you are given the signal

On the following page you will be asked to discuss a certain topic.

Your task is to discuss the topic using the essay directions given on the following page.

Think about the problem first before you begin writing and then write as clearly as possible.

Make sure you complete your last sentence.

As soon as the signal is given, turn the page; read the essay directions on page 2 and begin on page 3.

Most people finish this essay in thirty (30) minutes.

ESSAY DIRECTIONS

Given a topic:

a. State one possible point of view about the topic

b. Differentiate clearly between this first point of view and at least one other viewpoint. The alternate viewpoint should not reject or exclude the first point of view.

c. Then discuss similarities and differences among these viewpoints including alternate and conflicting reasons why these similarities and differences exist.

d. Discuss the meanings and relationships among the alternate and conflicting reasons for the existence of the similarities and differences among the viewpoints.

e. Finally, discuss the alternatives in terms of how they may change over time, and in terms of how new conflicts may arise and lead to more effective solutions.

The topic to discuss is "rules"........

Final Report

Project No. 5-0340-2-12-1
Contract No. OE-5-10-170

CONTEXTS OF TEACHER ALIENATION

January 1968

U. S. Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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